

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

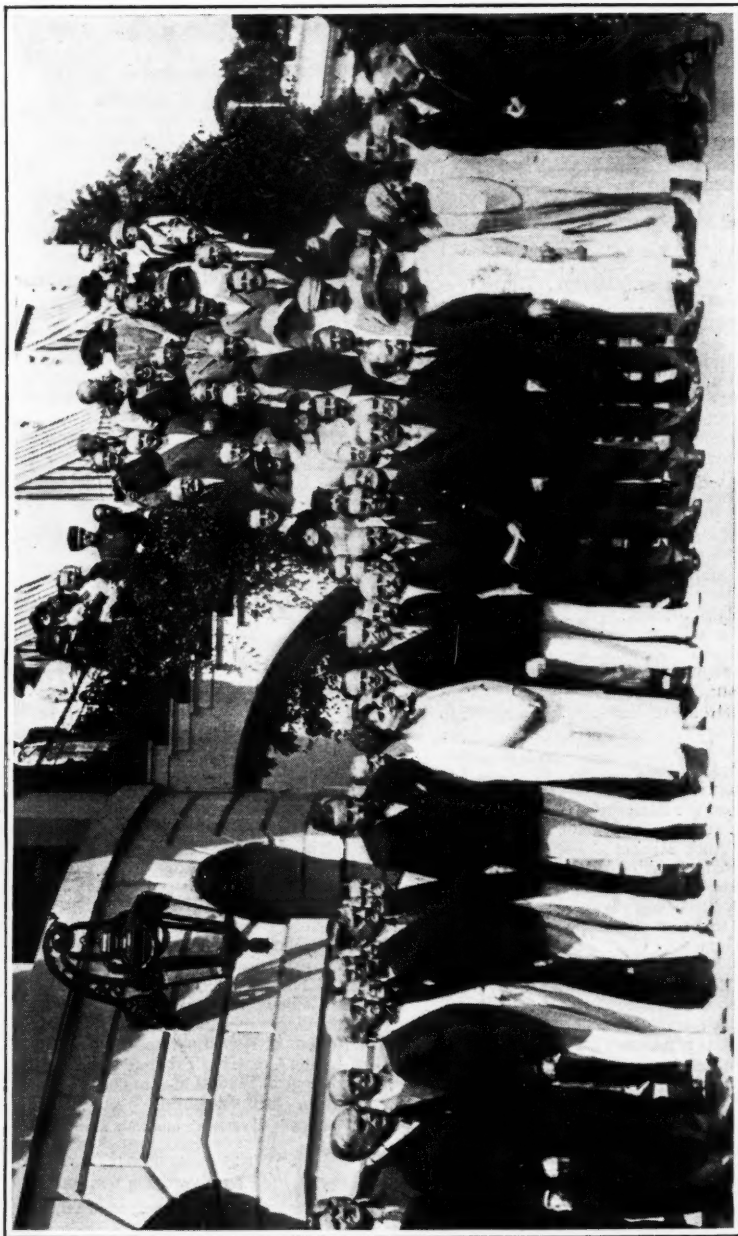
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REPUBLICAN LEADERS CALL UPON PRESIDENT COOLIDGE TO NOTIFY HIM OF HIS NOMINATION

(Preceding the formal addresses of notification and acceptance, on August 14, which were delivered, in the evening for the convenience of the radio audience, President Coolidge received the party's leaders at the White House. In the center of the group pictured here are John Coolidge, Mrs. Coolidge, the President, Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the House; William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Frank W. Mondell, who presided over the Cleveland convention)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

A Dull Summer in Politics

After the prolonged pyrotechnics of the Democratic Convention in New York City which finally nominated John W. Davis and Governor Charles W. Bryan to be the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the party, it was not unnatural that there should follow a month of comparative monotony and quiet in political news and discussion. Indeed, however busy and anxious the candidates and their party managers were during this intermission in perfecting plans for the campaign and in building up their working organizations, the American people at large spent mid-summer in the pursuit of their usual avocations or vacation delights with attention fixed on such matters as baseball news, the attempt to circumnavigate the globe in airplanes, and an unsavory murder trial—with some languid interest in the European Conference at London—but none of appreciable extent in the presidential "race." This marked lull in political discussion may have been accentuated by the facts of the personalities of the Republican and Democratic nominees—a feeling that with two opposing candidates of such ability and unexceptionable character and records it was bootless to spend too long a period of worry as to which should be chosen; but of course the chief cause was the policy of each of the groups of party managers to devote mid-summer to perfecting its plans, and to start the campaigns with the customary sound and fury somewhat later, after the official notifications of the nominees and the publication of their addresses of acceptance. The nominees, also, had preferred not to commit themselves before that time.

Notification of the Candidates

The official notification of Mr. Davis came on August 11, President Coolidge's on August 14. In the case of each candidate the evening hour of eight o'clock was selected in order that the radio broadcasting of the speech of acceptance might find the maximum number of voters ready to "listen in." The ceremony of notifying a candidate for the presidency of the United States that he has been nominated, a month or six weeks after the event and after he and all the world have been aware of it, is a favorite subject of mirth for the "collymist" and American wits at large. While the formality proper lends itself readily to jest, it remains true that in this year of 1924 real interest attached to the addresses of acceptance that came from both the Republican and Democratic nominees, and particularly from the latter. Mr. Davis had taken so slight a part in politics; he had been so utterly detached from the proceedings of the turbulent Democratic Convention which nominated him and from any part in the construction of the platform of his party (a platform, as its kind is apt to be, so capable of one interpretation or another)—that there was a very real occasion for the candidate's declaring himself and a lively anticipation of hearing the personal version of the Democratic campaign creed from an intellect of such independent force and clarity.

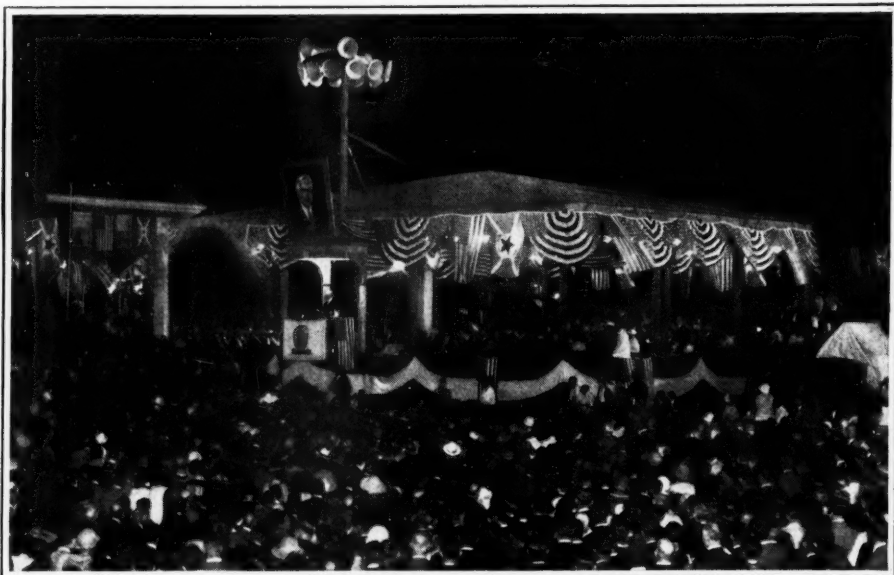
The Ceremony at Clarksburg

Senator Walsh, as chairman of the convention in New York City which had nominated Mr. Davis, made the notification speech. The scene was the little mountain town of Clarksburg, West Virginia, the

nominee's birthplace. It was a day of high carnival in those hills; a crowd estimated by different observers at from 60,000 to 100,000 people had gathered to take part in the greatest public occasion in the history of this somewhat secluded mountain State. Such a gathering was only possible through the agency of the multitude of "flivvers," which choked the hill roads for miles. Thus modern invention brought, through the agency of the automobile, the inflections of the candidate's voice to scores of thousands; and the present-day paraphernalia of amplifiers, etc., took them, through the radio, to millions. In his speech of notification Senator Walsh brought what was obviously some slight disturbance of the orderly flow of proceedings when he referred to "the gigantic business houses with which you have been more recently associated." The delicate situation was disposed of by the candidate in a hasty amendment to the speech of acceptance, in which he emphasized his present independence, with no clients but the Democratic party, explaining that he had severed all his legal connections since his nomination, and adding that "the upright lawyer sells his services but never his soul." The question will doubtless come up often in the campaign.

*Mr. Davis's
Offensive*

Mr. Davis left no doubt, in his speech of acceptance, as to the policy and tactics of his campaign effort. Senator LaFollette and his new Progressive party are to be more or less ignored, leaving them to be dealt with by the Republican campaigners. "The delusive panacea of the dreamy radical," among the well-turned phrases, was obviously aimed in the general direction of the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket, but otherwise Mr. Davis seemed to have adopted the theory so often advocated by the Wisconsin Senator's opponents: that studious neglect is the safest treatment for the militant promoter of "delusive panaceas." Thus brushing aside the third-party rivalry without even a direct reference to it, Mr. Davis centered his attack on the Republican administration and President Coolidge personally, with a directness, and even passion, that were, doubtless, all the more marked because of the candidate's consciousness that the country may have suspected a courteous lawyer used to dealing in elegant phrases and finely spun arguments before Supreme Courts—an ex-ambassador to the Court of St. James's suddenly injected into fierce political strife—might well be lacking in campaign fire and ruthless offensive.



THE SCENE AT CLARKSBURG, W. VA., ON THE EVENING OF AUGUST 11, AS MR. DAVIS ACCEPTED THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY

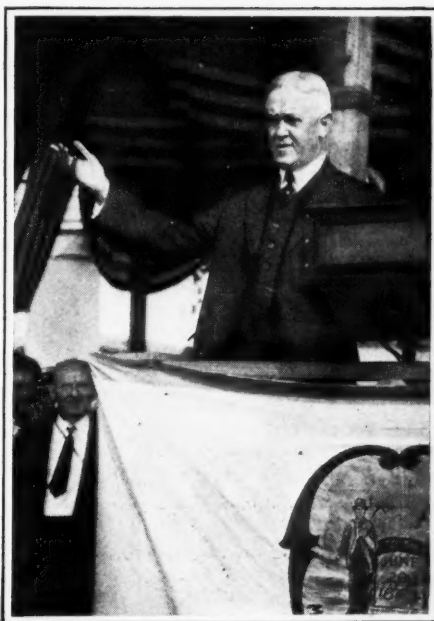
(The amplifiers overhead carried his voice to an immense throng who had come to see him, while a radio microphone on the reading table enabled hundreds of thousands more, in all parts of the country, to hear his message)

**President
Coolidge
Attacked**

But Mr. Davis has taken the offensive at once with a vengeance. He and his advisers have decided that the keynote of their campaign will be the corruption of the Republican administration and its lack of unity and leadership. It is Newberry, Fall, Denby, Daugherty and Forbes who, as they see it, give them their chance. Davis, the polished lawyer and diplomat, in this speech turned from his few graceful words of formal acceptance like a pugilist from a handclasp with his adversary, to such phrases as "the allied forces of greed and dishonesty, of self-seeking and partisanship"; "corruption in high places, favoritism in legislation, division and discord in party councils, impotence in government and a hot struggle for profit and advantage which has bewildered us at home and humiliated us abroad." Not satisfied with the citation of "multiplied scandals," Mr. Davis seeks boldly to pin the responsibility on President Coolidge. "The revelation of these crimes was not the result of any action taken by the Executive." "No burning indignation there put in train the forces of investigation and punishment; when discovery was threatened, instead of aid and assistance from the executive branch there were hurried efforts to suppress testimony, to discourage witnesses, to spy upon investigators and finally by trumped up indictment to frighten and deter them from the pursuit."

**A New
Political
Phrase-Maker**

The Administration and the Executive himself Mr. Davis sees as not only "complacent in the company of scandals but as futile and feeble, heading a leaderless and incoherent mob." It is called to mind how President Coolidge's own party ignored his wishes on the Mellon plan for tax reduction, the bonus, Japanese exclusion, and the postal salary increase—"a pitiable spectacle of discord and division." More illustrations of Mr. Davis as a political phrase-maker: "The inability of the Executive to lead or the unwillingness of his party to follow"; "We have a Government that does not dare to speak its mind beyond the three-mile limit." Such quotations give a fair idea of Mr. Davis's performance in his very new rôle of hard-hitting political campaigner. That so brilliant an intellect would produce a fine result of its sort was a foregone conclusion. To the very sensi-



© Henry Miller

HON. JOHN W. DAVIS, AS HE DELIVERED HIS ADDRESS ACCEPTING THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION

tive ear there may come, after these incisive phrases of political invective, suggestion that it is a magnificently trained and gifted advocate who is making the onslaught; the question whether, if Mr. Davis' present client were, not the Democratic, but the Republican party, he would not, with at least equal ease, fluency, and elegance have made out a case for President Coolidge and his administration. Thus the very distinction and felicity of style of Mr. Davis' onslaught had qualities which may have included defects in carrying conviction. The speech was not without passion in arraignment; but will voters sense that the polished and brilliant man was himself impassioned? For sheer literary excellence, certainly, Mr. Davis' address has scarcely been equalled among the outgivings of public men in our generation, except by Woodrow Wilson.

**The League
of Nations**

The Democratic platform built in the New York Convention dealt with the League of Nations issue in futile fashion, after Mr. Newton D. Baker's truly magnificent effort in its behalf, by referring it to a referendum of the nation. Mr. Davis went a long step

farther and declared himself as convinced that America should go into the League and would go into it. Having advanced this conviction in manly and unmistakable terms, Mr. Davis saved his position in relation to the platform adopted in New York City by adding his disbelief that America can or should enter the League "until the common judgment of the American people is ready for the step." He takes occasion to gird at the "unofficial observer" method used by the Coolidge Administration in conferences on European affairs; though the apparent success of the Dawes plan and the late London conference, characterized by Mr. Simonds in this issue of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* as the most significant of all the fourteen international conferences which have followed the signing of the peace treaty, does not give support to the opposition candidate's ridicule.

*Tariff,
Klan, and
Prohibition*

Mr. Davis has good, old-fashioned Democratic convictions on the tariff. He wants one for revenue only. In President Coolidge's speech of acceptance, three days later, the Republican nominee "pointed with pride" to the customs receipts attaining a total of \$550,000,000 for the last fiscal year. Mr. Davis points to the figures, also, but accusingly. He considers it ludicrously inconsistent with the Admin-

istration's solicitude for the taxpayers, and he stigmatizes the present tariff as an "unblushing return to the evil days of rewarding party support and political contributions with legislative favors." This address makes it fairly plain that the Democratic campaign of attack this autumn will center chiefly on (1) the scandals with which the names of Newberry, Fall, Daugherty and Forbes were associated and (2) the Fordney-McCumber tariff. Mr. Davis, like his party convention at New York, handled the Ku Klux Klan issue without an open attack on that organization, contenting himself with denouncing "bigotry, intolerance, and race prejudice." It is also true, however, that some days previous to the notification ceremony, Mr. Davis made public his answer to a letter designed to draw him out on the Klan issue and stated unequivocally his position of disapproval. As to the Eighteenth Amendment, the sum and substance of his remarks could have been easily predicted: prohibition is the law, and he proposes to enforce the law.

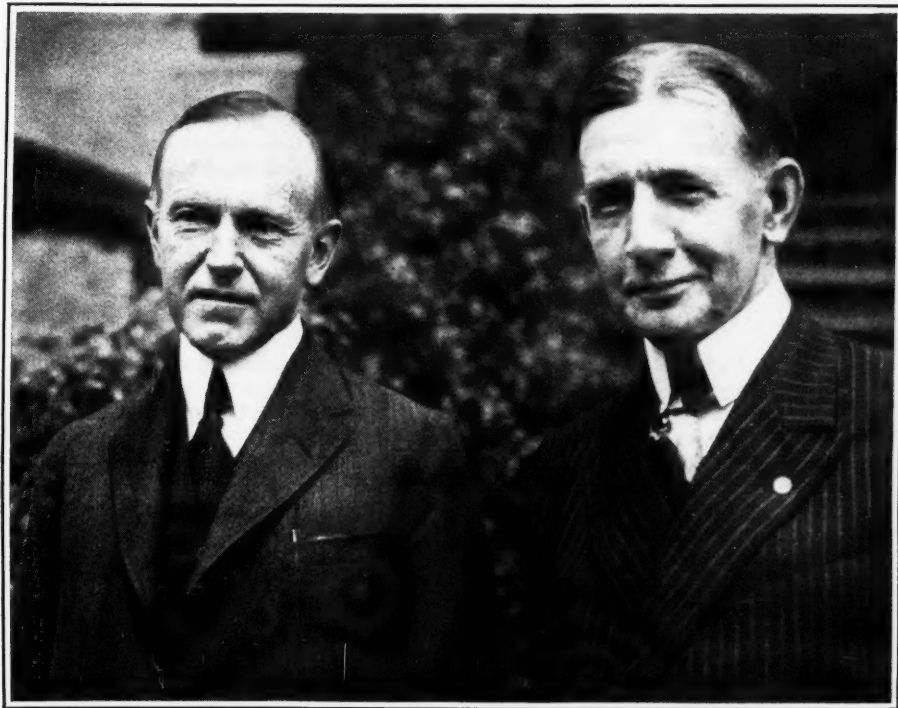
*A Characteristic
Coolidge
Address*

The Coolidge notification and address of acceptance came at Washington, on the evening of August 14. The President's speech was characteristically brief, compact and restrained in style, with the laconic, clipped sentences which gather force as the hearer comes to feel that no words are being used except those necessary to convey a definite thought or fact which the speaker has to offer. It is a style that can gain close attention. Mr. Coolidge showed what the Republican Administration has done in the past four years to warrant his election. He pauses, on the defensive for just two paragraphs, to answer "those who would undertake to convince themselves and others that the chief issue of this campaign is honest government." He asks whether an administration desiring a dishonest and corrupt government would have checked extravagance, introduced a budget system, cut down taxes, reduced the public debt, purged the payrolls. "That is not the way of dishonesty." He continues, in effect, that where anyone of any party has been suspected of guilt, he has been investigated and, when the evidence warranted, duly tried. "No Government was ever able to prevent altogether the commission of crime, but this Government, under my direction, is doing the best it can to detect and punish



NAILING HIS FLAG TO THE MAST

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



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THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEES, PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND GEN. CHARLES G. DAWES, AT THE WHITE HOUSE

any and all wrong-doing." This is about all the President deemed fit to say in answer to the denunciations being made and to be made during the next three months.

The Republican Record

The addresses of the two candidates illustrate well the historic attitudes of the Republican and Democratic parties; the first a party which proceeds to constructive work, now wisely done, sometimes unwisely; the Democrats, in opposition, accusing and critical. The greater part of Mr. Coolidge's address is occupied with a calm statement of the constructive work of the Republican Administration. On March 1, 1921, post-war recklessness and extravagance were marked in public and private life. The national debt had jumped to \$24,000,000,000, of which \$7,000,000,000 was in short-term notes, with no provision for payment. Taxes were staggering and United States bonds were selling some twelve points below par. "Huge accounts with the railroads were still unsettled. Transportation was unsettled. Over \$11,-

000,000,000 of unliquidated debts were due us from foreign countries. The whole people were suffering from a tremendous deflation. Our banks were filled with frozen assets and everywhere acute financial distress existed. Interest was high. Capital was scarce. Approximately 5,000,000 people were without employment." The disabled veterans were without relief. Foreign undesirables and cheap merchandise threatened us. Competitive armaments were rapidly building. This picture drawn by President Coolidge will be recognized as a fair one of conditions four years ago. He reminds his hearers of what the Republican Administration has succeeded in doing to remedy those conditions.

To-day and Four Years Ago

The budget system has been promptly introduced, resulting in great savings. From a yearly expenditure of \$5,538,000,000 in 1921, and a surplus of \$86,000,000, the costs of government have been cut to \$3,497,000,000 for 1924, with a surplus of more than \$500,000,000. The debt has been

reduced by \$2,750,000,000. The enormous short-time note debt has been paid or successfully refunded. Taxes have been twice reduced, resulting in a saving to taxpayers of \$6,000,000 a day as compared with 1921. Government bonds are selling well over par. More than 40 per cent. of the debts due us from foreign nations have been refunded and will retire about \$13,000,000,000 of our own national debt during the next 62 years. The President is sure of his ground in this recital of financial achievements, and he abandons for a moment his customary restraint to pay a tribute to his Secretary of the Treasury, which, coming from a man so careful and conservative in the use of words, is rather striking: "The finances of this nation have been managed with a genius and a success unmatched since the days of Hamilton." The gigantic railroad accounts have been settled; the roads are serving "the greatest peace-time commerce ever moved without a shortage of cars. Wages have increased, unemployment has ceased, capital is plentiful, and the banks are in fine condition. The most generous provision has been made for disabled veterans. American standards have been protected by immigration laws. The new Tariff law produces an annual return of \$550,000,000. A fiscal policy which places a large and much needed revenue in the public treasury, while stimulating business to a condition of abounding prosperity, defends itself against any criticism. We have protected our own inhabitants from the economic disaster of an invasion of too many foreign people or too much foreign merchandise."

A New Arms Conference Planned Mr. Coolidge leaves his party's record of financial accomplishments to call the results of the Washington disarmament conference "the one effective agreement among the great powers in all the history of civilization for relieving the people of the earth from the enormous burden of maintaining competitive naval armaments." He reiterates that the favors the Permanent Court of Justice and further limitations of armaments. More specifically he announces that when the Dawes reparations plan is in operation (the President, with characteristic caution, did not assume that its success was assured), he intends "to approach the great powers with a proposal for a further limitation of armaments."

He personally favors entering into covenants for the purpose of outlawing aggressive war by any practical means.

The Tariff a Clean-cut Issue As the average man ponders over the addresses of these two able and honest men, Coolidge and Davis, striving to discern the difference in convictions and policies which might sway his preference to one or the other as the leader of the nation, it is difficult to discern any clean-cut opposition of convictions or aims save in the one item of the tariff. Mr. Davis does not want corruption or disorganization in the ruling party. The voter knows perfectly well that President Coolidge does not want them either and that he would show force and shrewdness in combating the difficulties that would beset his path. President Coolidge is strong for economy in government and makes out a good case for his administration in its thrifty management of the nation's business. Mr. Davis is equally strong for the elimination of waste. Mr. Davis advocates the reduction of taxes, and specifically names the income tax for further reduction; the present Administration has just forced a reduction of taxes, begun by it at a time when it seemed hopeless to attempt any such thing, and only failed partially in not persuading Congress to reduce taxes on larger incomes as much as Mr. Mellon thought wise. Both candidates believe in world peace and the reduction of armaments; and probably no one believes that President Coolidge would stand in the way of our joining the League of Nations on some practicable terms if there came the popular mandate which Mr. Davis says we must wait for. Both candidates sincerely decry religious and racial intolerance, and each would undoubtedly do whatever might lay in his power to deal with the puzzling problem of prohibition enforcement. The tariff alone furnishes a real issue of policy in 1924, together with whatever differences in the personal ability and high-mindedness of Coolidge and Davis that may become apparent to the voter.

LaFollette Claims Attention During the midsummer dullness of the presidential campaign it was the LaFollette movement that chiefly claimed what attention the public gave to the prospects for the coming election. Within three days after Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana had an-

nounced that he would bolt from the Democratic party to support the Wisconsin leader, but that he would not take second place on the third party's ticket, he changed his mind on the second count and was nominated for Vice-President. The place had been offered to Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Thereafter there came something of a running fire of announcements of new supporters of the third party. Eugene V. Debs, leader of the Socialist party, gave his endorsement. A number of labor leaders, especially those prominent in the four great Railway Brotherhoods, espoused the La Follette cause, Mr. D. B. Robertson of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen being rewarded with a place on the National Joint Executive Committee, the organization which will steer the campaign for the third party. Senator Frazier of North Dakota joined the movement and took his place on its national committee, as did Morris Hillquit, the well-known New York Socialist. The varied character of his Committee—and of Senator LaFollette's supporters as a whole—is exemplified in the presence of Rudolph Spreckles, the San Francisco banker. Other members of the campaign committee are Mr. Basil M. Manly of Washington, director of the People's Legislative Service; Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower Evans of Boston, a pioneer suffragist; Mrs. Edward P. Costigan of Colorado, of the League of Women Voters, and Mr. William M. Johnston of Washington and of the Machinists' Association. These were the personal choices of Senator LaFollette.

*Labor
and
LaFollette*

On August 2 the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in its meeting at Atlantic City, gave what it called a "personal and non-partisan endorsement" to the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket. Technically the labor leaders lived up to Mr. Samuel Gompers' consistent policy, by which the Federation of Labor remains independent of party affiliations but supports or opposes candidates according to their records as favorable or unfavorable in the eyes of labor, whether they be Republicans, Democrats, or third-party men. The distinction in the present instance is rather shadowy. Mr. Gompers lost no time in assailing the labor record of Mr. John W. Davis and the labor planks of the Democratic platform, seeking to disprove the allegations that Mr. Davis had worked for the Clayton Act and



THE NOMINEES OF THE NEW PROGRESSIVE PARTY, FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

(The Republican Senator from Wisconsin, Robert M. LaFollette, discusses plans and issues with the Democratic Senator from Montana, Burton K. Wheeler, on the steps of the Capitol)

that he had defended in court various labor leaders. More to the point was the announcement by Federation of Labor spokesmen that the unions would be called on for funds and speakers to aid the election of La Follette and Wheeler. Other accretions to the third-party ranks were Senators Ladd, Shipstead, and Magnus Johnson, Mr. Nelson and other Representatives from Wisconsin, and Congressman LaGuardia of New York. In August Senators Brookhart of Iowa, Norris and Hiram Johnson of California, were being anxiously watched for symptoms of their coming allegiance.

*"The
Progressive
Party"*

On July 25 the third party was officially christened "Progressive" by the LaFollette campaign committee, and the Liberty Bell was chosen as its emblem. It was announced that a campaign fund of \$3,000,000 would be raised through the efforts of the financial director, Mr. Henry S. Rosenfelt, and that as far as possible the fund would be made up of one dollar contributions. A list of the rather heterogeneous personalities mentioned in a preceding paragraph, as attracted to the support of the new Progressive party, suggests the different voting elements that Senator LaFollette will rely upon to make a showing next November. There are the disgruntled politicians from both major

parties who will support him as a gesture of insurgency; and some sincere voters in the ranks who are impatient of the mistakes of both Republicans and Democrats and will turn to the new Progressive movement as they turned to the Bull Moose cause in 1912. But larger and more important accretions of strength are coming from the avowed Socialists, the organizations of industrial laborers and of farmers, the visionary and radical elements of foreign-born citizens, single-taxers, and various schools of free-thinkers.

*LaFollette's
Accusations*

To such a varied following Senator LaFollette, the militant and courageous political warrior, seasoned by thirty years of impetuous insurgency, is preaching that the "Government at Washington is now and has been for a quarter of a century in the hands of small but powerful groups, acting together and controlling it in their own interests. Each group dictates production and prices in its own field—in iron, coal, oil, steel, lumber, meats, clothing." The third party declarations accuse the organized banking interest, "which owns the railroads, controls credit, and dominates the industrial life of the nation," of further oppressing labor, robbing the consumer, and enslaving the farmer through extortionate railroad rates and the

manipulation of credit. "The ill-gotten surplus capital" acquired thus is used to build up huge armaments and breed wars to exploit the people and the resources of foreign countries. Senator LaFollette specifically assails the Esch-Cummins railroad law as productive of outrageous rates and promises to furnish transportation to the nation at cost plus a reasonable return on capital actually invested. He sees no choice between the Democratic and Republican parties. "The same great special interests have financed the campaigns and dictated the policies of both." He blames the Democratic party, the policy of deflation, for the recent plight of our farmers, and for the drop of crop production from \$34.74 per acre in 1919 to \$14.53 in 1921. The third-party program looks to government ownership of the railroads and to such control of other leading industries as would be equivalent to ownership.

*A Time for
Economic
Education*

If any considerable fraction of the Progressive economic and political statements and remedies were well founded, there would be few citizens who should not vote for LaFollette and Wheeler. The most interesting uncertainty in this presidential campaign has to do with the number of voters who will find those statements convincing. Americans will generally decide that Senator LaFollette is personally honest as they know he is bold, energetic, and adroit. Perhaps it is important, more than is now apparent to the leaders of the two older parties, to bring to the average man, especially in the West and Northwest and in labor circles, the economic truths which alone can combat the Progressive leader's assertions. It is a question whether in an ideally organized campaign the most logical plan would not be a concentration of both Republican and Democratic energies on a campaign of economic education designed to expose the fallacy of the accusations and programs of the Progressives, leaving the adherents of the two older parties to vote for President Coolidge or Mr. Davis as their personal predilections and their views on protection dictate.

*Facts vs.
Progressive
Claims*

Perhaps there is no national teacher of economics in the United States more clear-headed and informed, and at the same time so gifted with the power of popular interpretation, as



SENATOR LAFOLLETTE SHOULD REMEMBER
THAT HE IS NO LONGER A GREEN COLT

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



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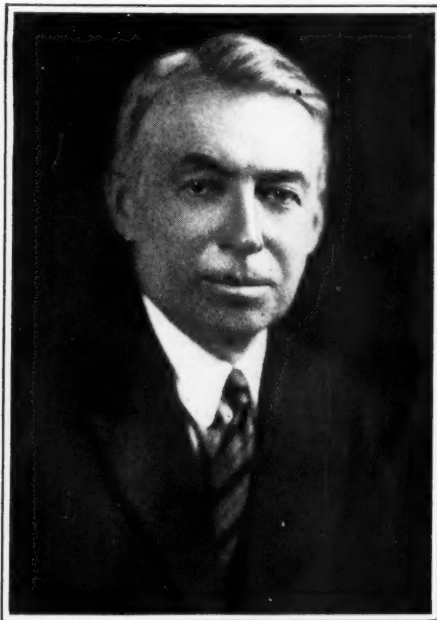
LEADERS IN THE MOVEMENT TO ELECT ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(At the extreme right, seated, is John M. Nelson, a Representative in Congress from Wisconsin since 1906, who will manage the Progressive campaign; next to him is William H. Johnston, chairman of the national committee and president of the Machinists' Union; next is Parley P. Christensen, who was the Farmer-Labor party's candidate for President in 1920; and at the left of the group is A. E. Holder, secretary of the committee. Standing are R. T. Wood and Herman L. Ekern [right], Attorney-General of Wisconsin and director of the new party's financial campaign)

Mr. George E. Roberts. He did yeoman service in 1896 in clearing up the minds of the American people on the question of sound money. He has recently examined, in his dispassionate way, into the fundamental allegation of the Progressives that groups of interests controlling our Government dictate production and prices, robbing the consumer. Turning in detail to the various industries named by Senator LaFollette, Mr. Roberts shows that in practically all of them the prices paid by consumers have had a smaller advance than the wages of the workmen. Thus, the 1903 price of iron was \$18.18 per ton as against \$19.29 in 1924. But the iron and steel worker received \$5.73 per day in 1923 as against \$2.85 as late as 1913. In the transportation industry, the Illinois Central Railroad receives \$1.38 for hauling a ton of freight the same distance which earned \$1.00 in 1913; but it pays \$1.06 for the hour of labor that cost \$1 in 1913. The price of soft coal has increased in ten years 62 per cent.; miners' wages 117 per cent. These are concrete instances where an economist may rise to answer campaign assertions made by the Wisconsin Senator.

*Oil,
Meat,
and Coal*

In the oil industry, wages are two or three times what they were twenty-five years ago; yet the prices of oil products have kept relatively below the prices of other commodities. The great meat-packing concerns make a profit of 1.56 per cent. on their sales, forced down by the competition of more than 800 concerns in the packing business. Now wages in the clothing industry are 151 per cent. higher than in 1913—decidedly more than the increase in prices to the consumer. And so with lumber, sugar, and shoes. Mr. Roberts makes a convincing case in his examination into facts as he sees them, showing that instead of the groups of interests controlling our Government which "have doubled and trebled the cost of sustaining human life—of housing, warming, clothing and feeding the American people," it is an unprecedented rise in wages that has been distributed back to the wage-earners in higher living costs. If the trusts have controlled government to fix prices and production and oppress labor, as is now alleged by the new party, they have made a very bad job of it from the standpoint of their own selfish interests.



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HON. CLEM L. SHAVER OF WEST VIRGINIA

(Who had been chosen by Mr. Davis, the Democratic nominee, to manage his presidential campaign, and who later was elected chairman of the National Committee.

*The Davis
Campaign
Manager*

Mr. Davis had very little of a national organization to work for his election, not nearly so much of one as Mr. McAdoo had all ready to go to work if his plucky fight at New York had been successful. Within a fortnight after his nomination Mr. Davis announced that the new chairman of the Democratic National Committee would be Mr. Clem L. Shaver, of West Virginia, and after the notification ceremony this neighbor of the Democratic nominee was formally elected to succeed Mr. Cordell Hull. Mr. Shaver is receiving credit for being "the original Davis man." He is typical of the associates who are rallying around the Democratic candidate, a real "dirt farmer" born on a farm near Clarksburg; in earlier life a lawyer who had some success in trading in the rapidly developing coal lands of his State and who retired with a modest competency from business and professional life to live and work and play in the open air. He is devoted to animals, to his countryside, to breeding good stock, and to bass fishing. Mr. Shaver managed what little was done toward advancing Mr. Davis's nomination at New York and in August; and he has

promptly proceeded, as Chairman of the National Committee, to open campaign headquarters in Washington, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. He is a man of attractive simplicity, with no amiable vices except fishing rods and setter dogs.

*Speech-
Making
Plans*

Campaign oratory has not begun as early as is usual in Presidential contests. The leading personalities in the present campaign have done nothing as yet in the way of speech-making tours. The late start is partly due to the necessity for raising funds to defray the expenses of such campaigning efforts, and partly, perhaps, to the new factor in political persuasion, the radio, which promises to take such an important part in this campaign and to supplant much of the travelling and direct personal contact of previous years. President Coolidge is understood to be averse to any extended tour for himself, and to prefer to explain his position and the issues as he sees them on occasions which would in any case, and quite aside from present political exigencies, have brought him to make public addresses. General Dawes has been looked upon as the campaigner who will lead the Republican shock troops of oratory. August 29 was the date set for the beginning of his active work in this field. He is a forceful and attractive personality; he knows how to talk to the West, and much reliance is put by the Republican managers on his coming visits and speeches to the agrarian States.

*Democratic and
Progressive
Plans*

Mr. Davis has planned to begin his own active campaign about September 1. He intends to make extensive use of the radio, but strong pressure is being brought by his adherents to persuade him to go out in person and establish direct contact with people. He is, of course, much less known to the public than either of the opposing candidates, and his supporters feel that his engaging, handsome presence and brilliant rhetoric should be introduced to as many voters as possible. Turning to the Progressive candidates, Senator LaFollette has been resting through July and August to prepare himself physically for the strain of the campaign. The Wisconsin Senator is sixty-nine years of age; he has had more than one serious illness; he throws himself into his work with a passionate abandon that might shake even a strong young man.



FREDERICK C. HICKS
(Republican)



© Keystone View

GILBERT E. ROE
(Progressive)



THOMAS J. SPELLACY
(Democrat)

THE MEN IN CHARGE OF EASTERN CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS OF THE THREE PARTIES, IN NEW YORK CITY

(All three men are lawyers. Mr. Hicks retired from Congress last year, as a Representative from New York, after four terms. Mr. Roe practised law in Wisconsin with LaFollette from 1890 to 1899, since which time he has resided in New York. Mr. Spellacy is a Connecticut man who served as United States District Attorney and Assistant Attorney General)

His physical condition is a factor of no small importance in the present contest. Both he and his "running mate," Senator Wheeler, will make vigorous speech-making tours, and it has been announced that these will not be confined to the Middle West and Northwest where LaFollette hopes are brightest, but that there will be an invasion of the industrial centers of the East.

*Radio
in the
Campaign*

The successful and extraordinarily popular use of the radio in bringing the dramatic proceedings of the Democratic convention in New York City to the people of the country, has given the device an enormous vogue for political propaganda. There are now 534 broadcasting stations in the country—stores, newspaper offices, colleges, churches, and municipal buildings. Each station has its own wave length and in the larger centers of population two or more campaigners could speak simultaneously. The campaign managers for 1924 have seized on the new invention with avidity. One after another has announced that his organization will operate largely or chiefly through the radio. The broadcasting companies have in consequence become somewhat nervous over their ability to handle all the political speeches that will be offered, and over the fate of the other features of their programs.

They have considered setting a limit of fifteen minutes for each political speaker, except, of course, for the major occasions and orators. They are insisting that the campaign talks deal with national issues only, and are pointing out that unrestricted use of the broadcasting stations for political argument which would crowd out other and more entertaining features might not only seriously injure their business but also defeat the purpose of the campaigners. In other words, if people get surfeited with political talk they may simply cease to "listen in," and one of the disadvantages of this new method of influencing the public, which must be borne along with its marvelous capacity for reaching millions where thousands only could be addressed by personal contact, is that a monotonous orator will never know when he has lost the ear of the public, or how many persons are hearing him through.

*Checking Up
Campaign
Expenditures*

The saving in campaign expenses made possible by the radio is a real consideration to the political managers. There will be in this campaign such a close oversight of political expenditures as has not before been known. In previous years reports have been required of campaign contributions and expenditures after the election.

There is now a special committee appointed by the Senate to investigate and report on the financial operations of the political parties, with Senator William E. Borah as chairman. Chairman William M. Butler, of the Republican National Committee, has made public correspondence between him and Senator Borah which shows that the latter is taking his campaign expenditure committee very seriously. He has asked the Republican manager to report on the status of the organization's finances at the beginning of the campaign; how much it proposes to collect; what plan will be used in securing contributions and what limits are being set on the amount of the individual contribution. Mr. Butler has answered the last question by saying his committee would place a "reasonable" limitation on the size of individual contributions. He has arranged with the Senate Committee to report every fifteen days through the campaign as to the collections and disbursements, and has placed the amount with which the campaign started at \$50,000.

*Coolidge
Weather*

In August the LaFollette adherents were claiming as sure for their cause the States of Wisconsin, California, Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana, having in the aggregate 65 electoral votes out of the total of 266 which are required to elect. The elements of nature, however, were fighting for the Republican party. It may seem quaintly illogical that untoward weather and "black rust" in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, offset by favorable crop con-

ditions in the United States, should result in the persuasion of hundreds of thousands of voters, perhaps millions—who would otherwise have voted for the third-party ticket—that Coolidge should be elected President. Yet some such result seems highly probable. Last year Canada produced an entirely unprecedented crop of wheat, 475,000,000 bushels, of which she exported 347,000,000 bushels. This huge quantity thrown on the world's markets held down the price of wheat to an extent that added the final touch of misfortune to farmers in our western and northwestern States. With unpaid notes at the banks, with the values of their farm lands slumping, with the cost of the manufactured articles they must buy still so far above pre-war figures, the wheat farmers were desperate. Many of them lost their farms and became hired laborers. They were ready to try anything that promised relief without looking into the economics of the panacea too closely. They were in the most favorable mood to listen to Senator LaFollette's accusations against Government and to legislative programs designed to overcome the laws of supply and demand.

*Our Turn
in Wheat
Profits*

When in July there appeared rumors of crop deterioration on the vast wheat-growing plains of southwest Canada, the grain speculators in Winnipeg, Chicago, and Liverpool began promptly, as is their wont, to bid up prices for future deliveries. Rapid confirmation of the rumors brought a wild market on the wheat exchanges. Prices rose swiftly from



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THE SENATE COMMITTEE TO WHICH THE CANDIDATES ARE TO REPORT CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

(The chairman, Senator William E. Borah [Rep.], of Idaho, is at the right of the picture, and next to him is Miss Grace Hileman, secretary. At the extreme left is Senator Shipstead [Farmer Labor], of Minnesota, and next to him is Senator Wesley Jones [Rep.], of Washington. In the center is Senator Thomas F. Bayard [Dem.], of Delaware)

below \$1.00 to nearly \$1.36. The August crop report of the Dominion authorities estimated the total Canadian yield of wheat at 282,000,000 bushels, nearly 200,000,000 less than last year. In the meantime it became known that India, Russia, and the Balkan states were not likely to show any increase in production over last year, while Argentina and Australia, in the southern hemisphere, with their harvest nearly six months away, were as likely as not to show a slight decrease in total yield. The wheat growers of the United States were harvesting a good crop, favorable weather in July adding no less than 70,000,000 bushels to the previously estimated yield. Western Kansas has such a crop as was never seen before in that State, and all the Southwest has done splendidly. Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana are harvesting as fine a crop of spring wheat as they have ever raised. The Pacific Northwest has been unfortunate, with droughts that have seriously damaged its prospects; but taken as a whole the United States will produce about as much wheat as last year and the present price is 30 per cent. higher than farmers received in 1923.

**All Farm
Products
Share**

Along with this sudden upturn in fortune for the wheat farmer has come an equally vigorous increase in the price of corn, of rye, and of oats, with splendid crops of the last two



THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SEEKS TO PROFIT BY THE SKYWARD FLIGHT OF WHEAT

From the World-Herald (Omaha, Neb.)

and a somewhat poor promise for corn (which, however, improved through the month of August). The backward spring and summer are responsible for a total yield of corn that will be probably two hundred million bushels or more below the three billion bushel crop of 1923. Nor does the increased price of corn mean as much to our farmers as the rise in wheat values, for something like 85 per cent. of the corn is used on the farm. But hogs, into which the corn is largely transmuted, have also been rising in price on the exchanges in sympathy with the advances in grain, shooting up from \$7.50 per hundredweight to nearly \$11. Altogether, it makes a situation in which newspaper statisticians figure out an increase in the farmers' income of a billion dollars at a bound. While such round figures, obtained by multiplying the estimated total production of agricultural commodities by the recent increase in their prices, are manifestly rhetorical, and while it cannot be said that the undoubted gains in farming prosperity are present everywhere through the nation, or are evenly distributed, it nevertheless remains true that in the middle western and north-western States an entirely new vigor and hope have begun on the farms. Coming after several years of agricultural depression, the improved outlook is all the more welcome.



SENATOR LaFOLLETTE PAINTS A PORTRAIT OF THE DISCONTENTED GRAIN FARMER

(But the farmer receives cheerful news before the sitting is over, From the News (Dallas, Texas))

*The Farmer's
Dollar
Goes Up*

Record-breaking shipments of wheat are pouring into Chicago to take advantage of the higher prices, and extensive "hedging" sales of the grain are being made for future delivery. Without such sales the price of wheat would, of course, have shot up to a point far higher than that actually reached. The farmers are paying their notes at the banks. The banks themselves, which had unwillingly come into ownership of commodities and land through foreclosure during the bad times, are finding it possible to dispose of these "frozen holdings"; for the price of farm lands is already definitely on the rise again and actual purchases have started up. A great forward step has suddenly been taken toward bringing the prices of agricultural products near parity with the prices of the things farmers must buy. The farmer's dollar is substantially nearer the worth of the manufacturer's dollar than it was three or four months ago. There is much dispute as to how much this new situation will help the Republican ticket in the West and Northwest, and render those sections barren ground for the appeal to discontent and poverty which is being prepared by the Progressive speakers. Some are more than hinting that the sudden rise in prices is the result of a gigantic conspiracy of moneyed interests to inflate farm prices artificially and that these better times will last only so long as the campaign lasts. But aside from the unreasonableness of such a theory, the farmer is actually selling his wheat and hogs for the higher prices and getting ahead, and he is not so apt to puzzle his head about causes when he is finding material facts actually so comfortable.

*A Favorable
Cotton
Year Too*

Although the prosperity of the cotton-raising States has no such direct bearing on the fortunes of President Coolidge and the Republican party as have the favorable harvests of the West and Northwest—the cotton-growing States being without exception squarely in the Democratic column—the favorable turn which has come to the staple is not without its effect on the general atmosphere of prosperity which should aid the present Administration. The price of cotton is and has been for some time well up to a parity with commodities at large, and at a figure two or three times the usual pre-war quotations. The trouble has been that, chiefly due to the boll weevil, our Southern

States have not been producing enough cotton comfortably to supply the needs of the factories at home and abroad at costs to them which would allow sales of the manufactured product at prices within the means of the larger body of their customers.

*A Cotton
Famine
Averted*

Thus the carry-over of cotton at the beginning of this year was the smallest on record—some 2,300,000 bales. Prices have been maintained so high that the New England and Southern mills, faced with both this high cost of raw material and wage scales more than 100 per cent. above pre-war levels, have been forced to put quotations on their finished goods which many customers refuse to accept. The textile industry has in consequence been in a state of utter prostration. This situation has brought special interest in the size of the 1924 crop. Earlier in the summer it looked much as if this year might bring the third short crop in succession; but in July and August there was improvement in the cotton plant. The cool and backward summer had discouraged the boll weevil, and in the Government report of August 8 the estimate for the year was about 12,400,000 bales—a good average crop.

*The English
Cotton
Problem*

In England, even more acutely than in America, has the effect of two short cotton crops been felt. The Lancashire cotton manufacturing district alone uses four million bales of cotton a year. These mills serve the most indigent consumers of cotton goods on the globe, in their export trade to the East and Near East. The Englishman simply could not afford to pay the high prices for raw material resulting from the American crop failures; no less than 90,000 workmen have been idle in Lancashire. One result of these English manufacturing embarrassments promises to be of great moment in time to come to the American cotton-raising industry. The Englishman has set himself determinedly to the task of becoming independent of the cotton plantations of our Southern States. He is straining every nerve and spending great sums of money to develop the growing of cotton in India, Egypt, the Sudan, and Australia. One great irrigation project in India, developing cotton and wheat lands, is costing \$60,000,000. A vast tract of 4,000,000 acres in the Sudan is being made into a cotton plantation with an expenditure of \$35,000,000.

Whereas the Lancashire mills formerly depended on American cotton for practically all their raw material, the proportion is now only 50 per cent. While we in America formerly exported all but 36 per cent. of our cotton, we now use in our own factories 61 per cent. of our total yield.

Senatorial Primaries

Within a few weeks the election campaigns for State and local officers, members of the House of Representatives and United States Senators will be in full swing in nearly every State. Of the thirty-two Senators, whose terms will expire on March 3 next, one-fourth were renominated during the spring and summer months, while in five States new names had been chosen by the party primaries for the consideration of the voters in November. Thus the Illinois Republicans last May nominated ex-Governor Deneen for the seat now held by Senator Medill McCormick, while the Democrats of Tennessee chose Gen. Lawrence D. Tyson in place of Senator John K. Shields, who had been a consistent opponent of the League of Nations. In South Dakota Governor McMaster received the Republican nomination to succeed Senator Sterling, and the West Virginia Republicans chose the Hon. Guy D. Goff to succeed Senator Elkins. The Democrats of that State gave a place on their ticket to former United States Senator William E. Chilton for the same seat.

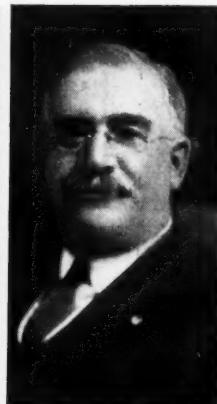
Activities of the Klan

Various local issues naturally entered into these contests in the Senatorial primaries, but in no other State was the race so exciting or dramatic as in Oklahoma, where former Governor Walton, recently impeached by the legislature,

appeared as the anti-Klan candidate for the Democratic nomination to the Senate, and was successful by a decisive majority. His Republican opponent in the election, the Hon. W. B. Pine, received Klan support in the primaries. In the Southwest that organization, the principles of which have been



RALPH O. BREWSTER
(Republican)



WILLIAM R. PATTANGALL
(Democrat)

THE OPPOSING CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR IN MAINE

condemned by all three of this year's candidates for the Presidency, is aggressive in local and State politics. In Arkansas it held its own primary a few weeks ago and nominated a State ticket, the names on which have not been divulged. In the legal primary, on August 12, Terral, who did not have Klan endorsement, led the Democratic poll for the governorship. In Texas a Klan candidate figures in the second Democratic State primary for Governor. In these three States the contests have been bitter and persistent. In other parts of the country the Klan's activities in politics have not yet attracted as much attention as in the Southwest, but in Maine the Democratic candidate for Governor, the Hon. William R. Pattangall, is ready to make the Klan the chief issue. He will be opposed in the election this month by State Senator Ralph O. Brewster, who is said to have a Klan support of 25,000 votes.

The Maine Election

Since the Maine election for State officers and Congressmen is to be held on September 8, it will command, as in former years, the interest of the entire country. Both parties are sending into the State speakers of national reputation, the Republicans being headed by General Dawes, candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Maine is no longer very seriously regarded as a "barometer" State, yet the early date of its election necessarily gives it prominence and causes the party in power to initiate special efforts to prevent a marked reduction of its



J. C. WALTON

majorities—this, of course, for the sake of the supposed "moral effect" throughout the country. Formerly we had "October States," where similar efforts were put forth by the national parties to make a favorable showing and sustain the party morale. Maine, in September, now partly fills the place once held by Ohio and Indiana in October. The Democratic candidate for the Governorship, Mr. Pattangall, will be remembered as the leader in the fight against the Klan at the National Convention in New York. His platform amendment that would have condemned the organization by name was rejected by the Convention.

Ohio and Missouri Another State in which the Klan issue has figured somewhat in the Governorship contest is Ohio, where ex-Governor Harry L. Davis, made an impressive showing in the Republican primaries against Joseph D. Sieber, who was said to have Klan endorsement. Mr. Davis won by more than 60,000. Governor A. V. Donahey was renominated by the Democrats, and is expected by his party associates to make a good run in November and possibly to carry Ohio for the national ticket. In Missouri the August primaries gave the Democratic nomination for Governor to Dr. Arthur W. Nelson, while an avowed "wet" candidate, former Judge Henry S. Priest, of St. Louis, stood third in the poll. The Republican choice for the same office was the Hon. Sam E. Baker. Missouri is one of the States "claimed" with equal confidence by both parties in every national election. The present State administration is Republican. The Klan does not yet figure extensively in Missouri politics.

Party Leaders on the Klan Although the three national party organizations have refused to dignify the Klan by naming it in their platforms even in condemnation, the leaders have not hesitated to declare themselves against religious bigotry

and racial intolerance. Mr. Davis said in his speech of acceptance at Clarksburg:

I wish not merely to denounce bigotry, intolerance and race prejudice as alien to the spirit of America, I wish also to state how and in what way the views I entertain are to influence my actions. Into my hands will fall, when I am elected, the power to appoint thousands of persons to office under the Federal government. When that time arrives I shall set up no standard of religious faith or racial origin as a qualification for any office. My only query concerning any appointee will be whether he is honest, whether he is competent, whether he is faithful to the Constitution. No selection to be made 'y me will be dictated, inspired or influenced by the race or creed of the appointee.

Senator LaFollette was equally explicit in a letter which he wrote on the subject, quoting effectively from the writings of Jefferson and Lincoln to sustain his position. President Coolidge, in a letter to a correspondent who had asked him to intervene to prevent the nomination of a Negro for Congress, said:

Our Constitution guarantees equal rights to all our citizens, without discrimination on account of race or color. It is the source of your rights and my rights. I propose to regard it and administer it as the source of the rights of all the people, whatever their belief or race. A colored man is precisely as much entitled to submit his candidacy in a party primary as is any other citizen. The decision must be made by the constituents to whom he offers himself and by nobody else.



© Baker
GOVERNOR DONAHEY
OF OHIO

Defense Day

The proposed observance of September 12th as Defense Day throughout the United States became the subject of heated controversy after the publication of a letter from President Coolidge in which he held that the purpose of the occasion had been misrepresented by hostile critics. A few days later the War Department made public its plans for the observance of the day, and from these the public is enabled to judge whether or not the criticism of the program so strongly condemned by President Coolidge was justifiable or not. According to these instructions, the general plan for the day has two main objectives, "namely, patriotic demonstrations and a test mobilization." The assembling of local units in the several States had been condemned as "a military gesture," but President Coolidge, whose sympathy with all efforts to promote world peace is well known, held that the purpose of Defense Day was in the truest sense non-militaristic, since it had for its purpose the "keeping down to its lowest possible point the pro-

professional military organization of the United States." Having regard to the fact that our Government initiated the Washington Conference for Limitation of Armament, the peoples of the world are not likely at this time to impute militaristic motives to those who are responsible for the national defense and who in proposing the observance of the national Defense Day are merely complying with the aims of the National Defense Law of 1920. Nearly all the Governors of States, knowing the plans of the War Department, had accepted them in advance, and are actively cooperating to carry them out. Governor Bryan, of Nebraska, condemned the project as economic waste and refused to do more than to call out the National Guard of the State. Several other Governors who at first approved this scheme have since been inclined to demur against it as a military demonstration, but it seems likely that in the country as a whole the day will be observed quite generally in the spirit of the original suggestion.

An Optimistic Stock Market

Recent very favorable developments in our farmers' situation, together with the general confidence in both Presidential nominations, have convinced the country, for a time at least, that there is safety and prosperity ahead. Since May of this year, there had been a well-defined industrial depression. It



A SCENE AT ONE OF THE SUMMER TRAINING CAMPS

(The Army maintained about thirty camps this past summer for the training of students and reserve officers under a system known as the "Plattsburg idea," originated by General Leonard Wood in 1913)



FOR THE NATION'S SECURITY

From the Chronicle (San Francisco, Cal.)

cannot be said that there are any vital and fundamental evidences of a present rebound; but the course of the security markets clearly indicates that such a rebound is confidently expected as a result, chiefly, of the increased purchasing power of the farmers and the expected security and stimulation of trade resulting from the successful arrangement of European affairs. The United States has now more than half the gold metal in the world; along with the decrease in the activity of trade, funds have piled up at the financial centers so that money has become literally a drug on the market. The nominal rate for call loans has been two per cent., but it is actually true that bankers have huge sums they cannot loan at even that rate, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has not been unusual. The Federal Reserve banks have reduced their rediscount rate to 3 per cent., the lowest figure in their history.

Even the Railroads Looking Up

In the course of the past two decades the positions of railroad securities and of "industrials" have come to be exactly reversed. Twenty years ago railroad stocks were the dignified aristocrats of the New York

Exchange; industrials were handled with apologies and wariness. Railroad stocks, on the average, were quoted very much higher indeed than the industrial average. The troublous times which fell upon the railroads, beginning acutely in 1910, have changed all this with a vengeance. Since 1916, railroad securities have been utterly out of fashion; they have become associated with risk and uncertainty; and investors have been willing to pay much higher prices for shares in industrial concerns. The presidents of financial institutions have been boasting that they had "gotten out of" railroad securities, frightened by the results of repressive legislation, present and to come, and that they would never get into them again. There was serious harm in this situation; our transportation systems had issued such a large proportion of bonds in their capital structures, and were so utterly unable to sell stock at par to obtain money for improvements and extensions, that their whole financial edifice was becoming dangerously top-heavy.

*Railroads
in Fashion
Again*

A recovery of this situation has been in progress for a year or more, and never so markedly as during the past few months. The railroad and financial worlds have become convinced that the Esch-Cummins law will work successfully if it is not interfered with. Trained and chastened in the school of

adversity, notable railroad managers have been performing really remarkable feats in operating results. As a consequence, we have the spectacle of railroad securities again on the up-grade in stock-market quotations, with great activity and interest in them. It must be added that much of this revival of enthusiasm for owning railroad shares is due to an expectation of mergers and consolidations. The Interstate Commerce Commission has got no farther in its program of permissive consolidation of railroads than the publishing of a preliminary plan of grouping.

*The Nickel
Plate
Merger*

However, two hitherto unknown young business men, now of Cleveland, Ohio, the Van Sweringen brothers, have quietly and industriously gone ahead on what turns out to be a really major consolidation of their own, and one which has set the railway and financial worlds agog. These two level-headed, small-town merchants, with something of the late E. H. Harriman's business prevision, last year acquired control of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad, familiarly known as the Nickel Plate. Its operation under their control has been eminently successful. With this holding as a base, they proceeded to get a dominant voice in the affairs of the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Pere Marquette, the Hocking Valley, and the Erie. They now propose to



THE PROPOSED CONSOLIDATION OF FOUR RAILROAD SYSTEMS
(Extending from St. Louis and Chicago to the Atlantic seaboard, and from Louisville and Cincinnati to northern Michigan)

weld the whole, through interchanges of stock, into a new trunk-line system reaching from St. Louis and the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard at New York and Newport News, tapping both the West Virginia and Pennsylvania coal fields, traversing the great manufacturing sections of Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana—the whole merger being planned on the principle of an advantageous interchange of traffic. This new huge railroad entity will include 14,000 miles of track and a total capital issue of a billion and a half. This independent consolidation effort is not at all along the lines of the Interstate Commerce Commission's grouping, and it is yet to be ascertained whether the ambitious move announced last month will be sanctioned by it.

*Pittsburgh
as a
Steel Base*

The Federal Trade Commission, late in July, held that the "Pittsburgh-plus" system, so called, involves price discrimination in violation of the Clayton Act. This system is the one used by the U. S. Steel Corporation and its subsidiaries in quoting prices of rolled steel products, manufactured at and shipped from their plants outside of Pittsburgh at a Pittsburgh base price plus an amount equivalent to what the railroad freight charge on such products would be from Pittsburgh to the consumer's destination if such products were actually shipped from Pittsburgh. The Commission found that this price system was contrary to the public interest, was not based on the laws of supply and demand, and that it destroyed competitors, retarded business in all steel centers except Pittsburgh, and increased prices. If the Commission's decision is not set aside by the courts, its effect on the fortunes of Chicago as a steel center is likely to be important. This means that not only the steel industry itself but the numerous industries using steel in fabrication will erect many additional plants in the South Chicago district. At the same time all other cities throughout the country will be able to make full use of such natural advantages as they possess in the manufacture of steel. Each manufacturing district will also be assured of its own normal market.

*The American
Invasion of
Europe*

The summer season now drawing to a close has been notable for the countless thousands of Americans who have made a sight-seeing journey to the Old World. Never, perhaps,

has the much discussed incoming tide of aliens equaled in extent this modern pilgrimage; although it is reasonably certain to expect that the vast majority of those who crossed the Atlantic eastward in June and July will have returned to their native land in August and September. During the war, and shortly after its close, we heard much of the slogan "See America First!" Many persons possessed of leisure and financial means—not to overlook a goodly number of others—became acquainted at first hand with historic places and scenic wonders here at home that are quite comparable with those to be found abroad. But the lure of Europe will not down, and the advantages that come from foreign travel are not to be denied. Circumstances combined this year to permit England to compete successfully with battle-scarred Belgium and France, and with picturesque Switzerland and the capitals of the Continent, as a Mecca for tourists. A world's fair and two important international conventions were the special attractions that brought Americans to London within recent weeks.

*Added
Attractions
in England*

The British Empire Exposition at Wembley (a suburb of London) was intended primarily to instruct and entertain the Britisher himself, and to remind him of the vastness of his far-flung empire. But it has served also to attract and interest large numbers of visitors from other lands. During the first ten weeks there were 6,000,000 paid admissions within the gates; and it is not difficult to understand why the exposition will be opened again next summer. Here, within the proverbial stone's throw of London, one can see typical parts of Africa, Australia, India, Canada, reproduced (at a cost of \$60,000,000) in faultless detail. Exhibiting only the people and products of a single political and commercial entity, the Wembley exposition nevertheless rivals a world's fair in its scope and in the variety of its appeal. For the first time in twenty years of existence, the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World this year held its annual convention on the other side of the Atlantic. Sixteen hundred American leaders in the important field of advertising—representing manufactures, agents, publishers, and all the printing crafts—crossed the ocean in July and exchanged ideas with their European colleagues. The convention held



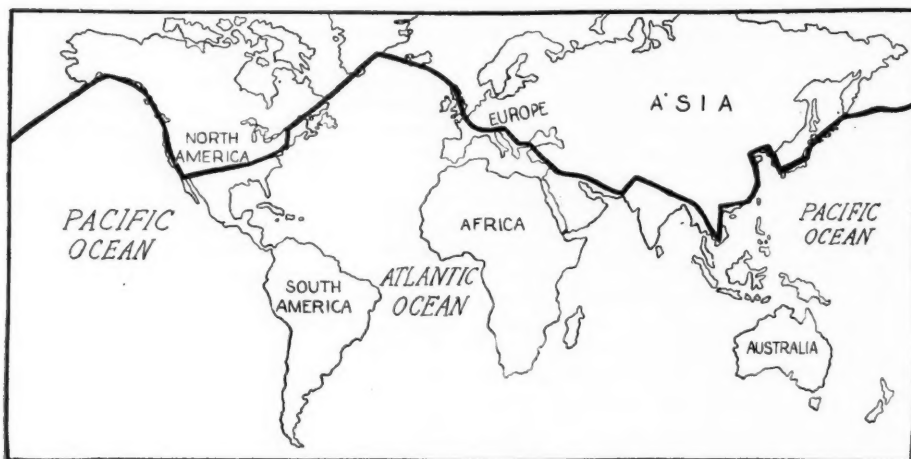
THE UNITED STATES ARMY AIRPLANES OVER PARIS ON JULY 14, IN THEIR FLIGHT AROUND THE WORLD

at London was international in fact as well as in name, with delegates from a dozen nations. In like manner, and later in the same month, the American Bar Association

met at London in a pilgrimage to the shrines where the ancestors of American as well as English lawyers fashioned the principles and rules of legal practice.

The Olympic Games

The city of Paris will always have its fascination for the American tourist, and the region which war laid waste will attract the student and the sight-seer for a long time to come. Of especial interest this year in France were the international athletic contests known as the Olympic Games. Beginning on the ice at Chamonix in January and ending in the Colombes Stadium in July, these games included all the major forms of athletic activity except the peculiarly American game of baseball. The track and field events demonstrated conclusively that Finland produces long-distance runners whose stamina cannot be equaled elsewhere in the whole world, and that young men from Great Britain are supreme in the shorter races. In most of the other events the participants from the United States were uniformly successful, winning two hurdle races, the high and broad jumps, the pole vault, the shot-put and discus and hammer throws, and two relay races. In the final point score on track and field, the United States had 255, Finland 166, and Great Britain 85, with sixteen other countries sharing in the honors to a lesser degree. American athletes also won all five tennis



THE ROUTE OF THE AMERICAN ARMY AVIATORS IN THEIR FLIGHT AROUND THE WORLD

(The start was made, with four planes, at Santa Monica, Cal., on March 17. One of the planes, with the Flight Commander, was left behind in Alaska, and a second machine was lost near Iceland. The squadron reached Alaska on April 13, Japan on May 22, China on June 6, India on June 26, Turkey on July 10. Paris on the 14th, London on the 16th, and Iceland on August 3.)

matches, thirteen out of seventeen swimming events, and the rugby tournament; and they found themselves with the largest point scores in rowing, boxing, and target shooting. Seven of these modern Olympic revivals have been held—usually every four years—and the all-round amateur athletic championship of the world, won at Athens in 1896, has not yet been wrested from the United States. The coming month will witness determined efforts to carry away from America the international polo and tennis championships. The polo trophy had been won at Hurlingham, England, in 1921, while the tennis trophy—known as the Davis Cup—was won in Australia in 1920 and successfully defended here in the three following years. Widespread interest also attaches to the series of races in America arranged for the French horse Epinard, which has been brought here to attempt what the British horse Papyrus failed to accomplish last year.

*The
Adventurous
Scientist*

The impulse that spurs one on in competitive forms of endeavor can be more easily understood than that which moves adventurous souls to climb untrod mountain peaks, to sail the polar seas, to search for lost ruins of unknown peoples, or to fly around the world. The highest point on earth—the “roof of the world”—is Mount Everest, in Tibet, north of India and west of China. The third attempt to scale this peak, undertaken, like the earlier ones, by British explorers, has ended in glorious failure. The expedition reached the highest point ever attained by man's own efforts, and it is possible that two of the climbers reached the top; they never came back to tell. In Africa, in Asia, in Central and South America, and in remote places in our own States, scores of scientists and explorers are searching for traces of early civilization or savagery. Two projects to reach the North Pole by aircraft, set for this summer, have been indefinitely postponed: one by our navy's dirigible balloon, the *Shenandoah*, and the other an airplane expedition by Captain Amundsen. It seemed the better part of wisdom to keep the *Shenandoah* from so hazardous an undertaking until it has survived real tests; while the Amundsen project failed for lack of funds. Meanwhile, the value of modern methods in polar exploration is exemplified by the expedition of Captain Donald MacMillan, which has



COL JAMES A. LOGAN, JR.

(As American unofficial delegate to the Reparations Commission since August, 1923, Colonel Logan attended the sessions of the London Conference last month and was especially active in maintaining harmony in moments of impending disagreement. In the period before the United States entered the war he had been chief of our military mission with the French Army, and later he was Assistant Chief of Staff with the American Expeditionary Forces)

been observing ice floes and currents around northern Greenland for more than a year. MacMillan's ship, the schooner *Bowdoin*, is equipped with wireless and has been in more or less constant touch with radio stations here at home.

*Flying
Around
the World*

A squadron of four airplanes manned by officers of the United States Army left its hangars in southern California on March 17, in an attempt to circumnavigate the globe—for the first time—via the air route. One plane, carrying the leader of the expedition, was wrecked and abandoned on the treacherous Alaskan coast. A second machine was wrecked, under somewhat similar conditions, while approaching Iceland. No lives were lost in either case, and the remaining crews were neither dismayed nor even hesitant. Perhaps there are adventures and trials in the catalogue which are not among those encountered by these intrepid aviators, but they at least might be inclined to doubt it. In order to cross the two great oceans where the continents are nearest to each other the over-water-route traversed was in both cases a northern one, and ice and snow and fog

were there aplenty. Over land the course lay mostly through warm regions of which Japan, China, India, Persia, and Turkey are typical. The greatest delay had been encountered near the end of the journey, while crossing the Atlantic with stops at Iceland and Greenland. More than five months have elapsed since the start from California, but the flight is a pioneering one and the real troubles have been those of supply.

*The
Inter-Allied
Conference*

The Inter-Allied Conference at London, which is discussed at length elsewhere in this magazine by Mr. Frank H. Simonds, had not on August 16 smoothed all the obstructions in the path of a complete settlement, but the temper of the negotiations and the ready and ingenious aid of the American participants bade fair to bring final success. There has been some ill-informed criticism of the stipulations made by the American and British bankers in the course of the negotiations, as to the security behind the loan to Germany which is to be raised chiefly among the investors of England and the United States. Such criticism was based on the thought that hard financial bargains should not have been injected by bankers into a situation which might better be moved and governed by political idealism. But this was not the question at all. The American and British bankers were not considering the lending of \$200,000,000 to Germany from their own pockets; they were considering whether the bonds they would need to sell to private investors, their clients, would have the requisite qualities of stability to justify them in recommending them to people who would expect the interest and principal to be paid as agreed. With such guarantees fairly assured, it is thought that there will be little difficulty in disposing of the \$100,000,000 which, it is understood, will be the share of the United States.

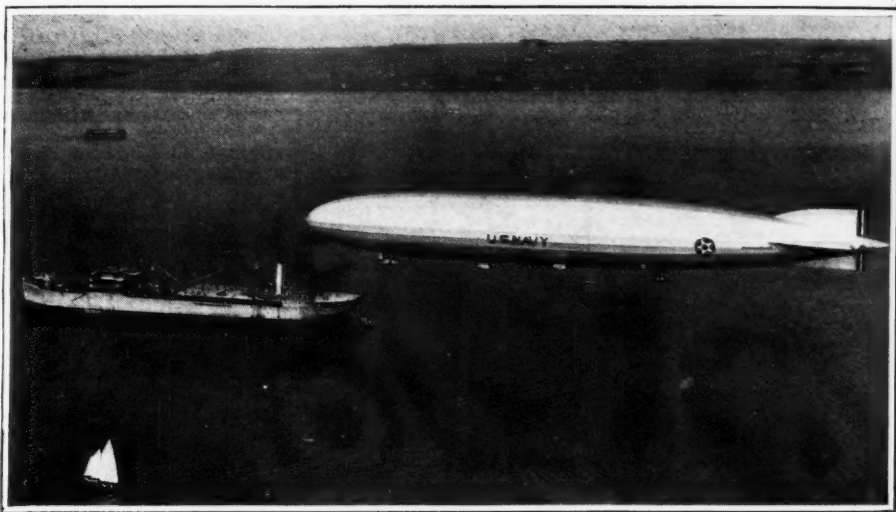
*International
Debates at
Williamstown*

Through the month of August the Institute of Politics held its fourth annual session at Williamstown, Mass. The Institute has become a great agency for bringing to America each summer a remarkable group of trained political and economic experts, financiers, university professors, and others especially interested in international relations, from England and the Continent of

Europe. This unofficial conference may not influence directly the actions of governments, but its effectiveness in advancing the cause of world peace by spreading knowledge about international affairs cannot be questioned. This year the topic that held first place during most of the session was naturally the work of the London Conference. The operation of the Dawes plan was considered from every angle, and the optimism as to its workings that pervaded this group of specialists was one of the significant features of the Conference. Practically all the vital world problems of the day were considered in the lectures or at the "round table" meetings. Emphasis was laid on those questions in foreign relations which have a direct bearing upon American trade and agricultural prosperity.

*South and
Central
America*

Signs of Latin-American unrest are never lacking, but at the present moment no serious outbreak seems to threaten the peace of the countries to the south of us. Although the censorship has not permitted full details to reach the outer world, it seems certain that the Brazilian revolution, centering in Sao Paulo, has been effectually suppressed by the Federal Government. The money loss resulting from the fighting in the city of Sao Paulo is estimated at from \$5,000,000 to \$7,500,000. It is reported that reconstruction will proceed rapidly and that the whole country is rejoicing in the restoration of law and order. Several acute situations have developed in Central America. Our Government found it necessary to notify General Tosta, who became temporary President of Honduras after the recent revolution, that recognition would not be granted to any government there if it was headed by a leader of the revolutionary movement. Under the terms of the treaty signed by the Central American countries at Washington in 1923, it is agreed that no government will be recognized which comes into power through a revolution. The United States simply wishes to base its future policy in this matter upon that treaty. The Government of Nicaragua inquired whether the United States would look with favor on the choice of certain candidates for office. Our State Department refrained from expressing any preference for an individual candidate or from opposing any aspirant for office in Nicaragua, but asked merely that free elections be held in that country.



THE UNITED STATES AIRSHIP *SHENANDOAH*, RIDING AT THE SPECIAL MOORING MAST OF THE U. S. TANKER *PATOKA*

(The Navy's giant dirigible last month successfully tested a new scheme for mooring at sea, remaining anchored for twenty-four hours off Newport. The past summer has witnessed several experimental flights of the great airship under varying conditions, though the trip to the North Pole was abandoned; and next summer it is planned to send her as far as Hawaii. Her motors are equipped with a device for making water out of the air to counterballast the loss of gasoline consumed while under way. Loss of ballast would make it necessary to release the inflating gas in order to preserve uniform elevation. This new device prevents wastage of valuable helium gas. A sister ship of the *Shenandoah*, built for the United States in Germany, is about ready to cross the Atlantic)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From July 15 to August 14, 1924)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

July 15.—Albert B. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, pleads not guilty to an indictment for conspiracy and bribery.

July 16.—Governor-General Leonard Wood delivers his message to the newly convened Philippine legislature, emphasizing the need of economic and educational development as necessary to further political progress.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana announces that he will bolt the Democratic party and support LaFollette (pronounced La-Fol'-let).

July 18.—Clem L. Shaver, of West Virginia, is chosen by Mr. Davis to manage his campaign for the presidency.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler is nominated by LaFollette Progressives for the vice-presidency.

At Manila, fifteen ringleaders of a recent mutiny of Philippine Scouts are placed on charges by American army authorities; another group of more than 200 men will be tried separately by court-martial.

Massachusetts State police arrest as suspicious persons two Rhode Island assistant attorneys-general and two Providence police inspectors, near Rutland, where Rhode Island Republican Senators are in hiding until they receive guaranties of personal safety from Governor Flynn (Dem.); meantime the Rhode Island Senate is unable to act or adjourn.

July 20.—Gen. Smedley D. Butler, who has been

reorganizing the Philadelphia police, draws fire from professional politicians by redistricting precincts to embody several wards each.

July 21.—The trial date for the Government suit to cancel the Elk Hills naval reserve oil lease is fixed as October 20.

Senator Andrieus A. Jones of New Mexico succeeds Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

July 22.—The Federal Trade Commission decides the "Pittsburgh Plus" case against the United States Steel Corporation, holding that the system is unfair (see page 245).

The Iowa Republican convention names Lieut.-Governor John Hammill, of Britt, for Governor.

The Socialist party's national executive committee endorses Senator Burton K. Wheeler as Senator LaFollette's running mate on an independent ticket in the presidential campaign.

July 24.—Carl C. Magee, an editor of Albuquerque, New Mexico, is released on bond in a State court proceeding to determine the Governor's power to pardon him for direct contempt of court arising out of a trial for libel before District Judge Leahy at Las Vegas.

Representative John M. Nelson of Wisconsin is chosen as chairman of the LaFollette-Wheeler "Joint Executive Campaign Committee."

July 25.—The LaFollette party campaign committee names its independent organization

"Progressive" and adopts the Liberty Bell as its emblem.

July 26.—Senator James Couzens is elected chairman of the committee investigating the Internal Revenue Bureau, succeeding Senator James H. Watson, resigned, and the inquiry will be resumed September 2.

July 27.—The Texas Democratic primaries leave Judge Felix Robertson of Dallas in the lead for Governor, with Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson, of Temple, in second place; Senator Morris Sheppard is renominated.

July 28.—It is announced that General Dawes will open the Republican national campaign at Lincoln, Neb., on August 29; he will speak on local issues in Maine on August 23, after his notification on the 19th.

Radio companies announce that political speeches will be limited to fifteen minutes each and an hour a day, and will be confined to national affairs.

July 31.—Thomas J. Spellacy, of Connecticut, is appointed as Democratic eastern campaign manager.

August 1.—In North Dakota, A. G. Sorlie, the Non-Partisan League Republican nominee for Governor, refuses to endorse LaFollette, in spite of a resolution of the League conference requiring such action by all candidates; the Non-Partisan League controls the Republican State machinery, but Mr. Sorlie refuses to become embroiled in national politics.

August 2.—The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor gives a "personal and non-partisan" endorsement to the candidacies of Robert M. LaFollette and Burton K. Wheeler.

Kentucky Democratic primaries result in victory for Senator A. Owsley Stanley, who will be opposed for the United States senatorship by F. M. Sackett (Rep.) of Louisville.

The Nebraska National Guard is insured for \$4,000,000 which covers 1,700 members; New York, Maryland, and Delaware have taken similar steps.

August 5.—Oklahoma primaries result in naming W. B. Pine as Republican candidate for U. S. Senator, while J. C. Walton (anti-Klan), who was impeached in his recent term as Governor, is named by the Democrats.

Kansas voters nominate for Governor, Lieut.-Gov. Ben S. Paulen (Rep.) and renominate Governor Jonathan M. Davis (Dem.); Senator Arthur Capper (Rep.) is renominated and James Malone of Topeka leads in the Democratic contest.

Missouri Democrats nominate Dr. Arthur W. Nelson, of Bunceton, for Governor, to run against Sam A. Baker (Rep.), former State Superintendent of Schools.

Charles Beecher Warren's resignation as Ambassador to Mexico is accepted by Mr. Coolidge, who praises his record.

August 6.—The Colorado Republican Assembly designates Lieut.-Governor Robert F. Rockwell as candidate for Governor; Senator Lawrence C. Phipps is unanimously renominated.

August 7.—In the Maine recount, State Senator Ralph O. Brewster, supported by the Klan, is held nominated by the Republican primary in June; the final vote was, Brewster 47,284, Farrington 46,703.

Tennessee Democrats, in the primary, fail to renominate U. S. Senator Shields, selecting instead Gen. Lawrence D. Tyson of Knoxville.

August 11.—John W. Davis, at Clarksburg, W. Va., is officially notified of his nomination for the presidency by the Democratic party; in his acceptance speech he assails the corruption and inefficiency of the Republicans and outlines his own program; the speech is radiocast from fifteen stations.

August 12.—In the Ohio primaries, ex-Gov. Harry L. Davis is nominated to run on the Republican ticket against Governor A. V. Donahey (Dem.).

Arkansas Democrats, in the primary, name Tom J. Terral, of Little Rock, for Governor; Senator Robinson, unopposed, was declared renominated by the State Committee.

The Texas Republican convention names T. M. Kennerly for United States Senator and T. P. Lea for Governor; both are from Houston.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

July 16.—Eamon de Valera is released from prison by Irish Free State authorities with other political prisoners, including Austin Stack.

In Saskatchewan Province, Canada, the prohibition law is repealed after three and a half years by a plebiscite which substitutes "sale by Government vendors in sealed packages."

July 17.—The Japanese Diet passes an increased tariff on 250 specified luxuries because of adverse trade balance.

July 19.—In Greece, the Cabinet of Premier Papanastasiou resigns; it was formed in March.

French trade is reported to have shifted from an unfavor-



MRS. MIRIAM A. FERGUSON, OF TEXAS, AND HER TWO DAUGHTERS

(Mrs. Ferguson ran second in the Texas Democratic primary election for Governor on July 26, and was to oppose Felix Robertson, the Klan favorite, in the run-off primary on August 23. Mrs. Ferguson is campaigning to vindicate her husband, recently impeached during his term as Governor. Left to right are: Mrs. George S. Nalle, of Austin, Mrs. Ferguson, and Miss Dorrace Ferguson)

able balance in the first half of 1923 to a favorable balance for the first half of 1924; imports for six months of 1924 were 19,873,000,000 francs, exports 21,282,000,000, an increase of 50 per cent. in exports and 36 per cent. in imports.

The Canadian Parliament is prorogued, after a session lasting since February.

July 23.—Premier Mussolini presents to the Grand Council of the Fascisti a program of reform, which is approved.

In Serbia, M. Yovanovitch, president of the National Assembly (Skupstina), is asked to form a cabinet to succeed that of Premier Pachitch, who resigned July 18.

The Berg cabinet in Norway resigns, owing to failure of the anti-prohibition bill.

Brazilian rebels fail to negotiate an armistice, President Bernardes holding that they must face the penalties of the federal laws.

July 24.—M. Sophoulis, formerly Governor of Macedonia, forms a new Greek Cabinet.

The House of Lords debates the British refusal to join the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, Lord Balfour supporting Premier MacDonald against Lords Cecil and Grey.

July 28.—Brazilian federal troops occupy the city of Sao Paulo, after a siege of two weeks; the rebels, who took the city on July 5, withdraw.

July 31.—In the House of Commons, J. H. Thomas, Colonial Secretary, announces that if the Ulster Government does not appoint a member on the Irish Boundary Commission there will be introduced a bill to effectuate the treaty requiring the commission to fix a boundary between Ulster and the Irish Free State.

August 3.—Honduras breaks into revolution again, with a battle at San Marcos de Colon, which is attacked by Generals Julio Peralta, Jeremias Fonseca, and Toribio Ramos, with 400 insurrectionists.

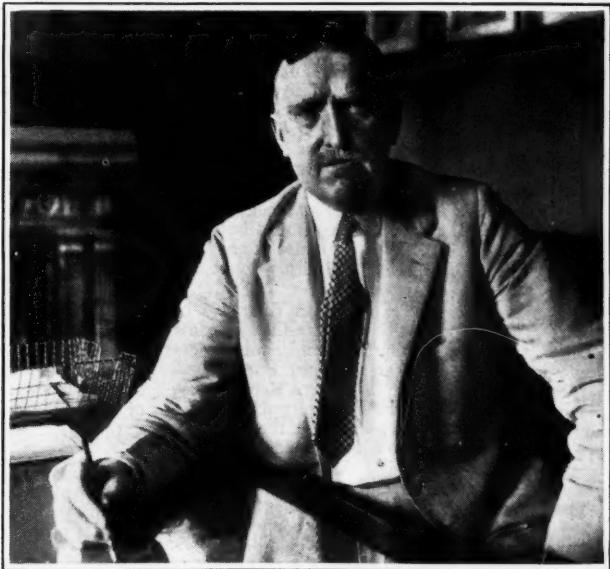
Dr. Rudolfo Chiari is elected President of Panama.

August 5.—Mexican federal forces begin to disarm agrarian rebels near San Martin, Puebla.

August 6.—Plans are set in motion to permit England to appoint the Ulster member of the Irish Boundary Commission; Parliament is asked to reconvene September 30, four weeks earlier than expected.

August 7.—In Honduras, Gen. Gregorio Ferrera, the War Minister, leaves Tegucigalpa in open rebellion, taking arms and ammunition with him to the mountains; the cabinet is reorganized.

August 10.—At Berlin, the fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Weimar Constitution is observed without great Republican enthusiasm.



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MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN L. HINES, WHO WILL SUCCEED GENERAL PERSHING AS CHIEF OF STAFF ON SEPTEMBER 12

(General Hines is fifty-six years of age. He was graduated from West Point in 1891, and had much infantry and quartermaster experience in the years that followed. In the Great War he was regimental, brigade, corps, and division commander. On December 5, 1922, he was appointed Deputy Chief of Staff, U. S. A. He was awarded the D. S. M. and D. S. C. for services in France and holds many foreign decorations)

August 12.—The Cuban Conservative party names General Menocal, former President, for the presidency.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

July 15.—The Reparation Commission decides that the Dawes report will become effective when Germany cedes the obligations called for and when the bank of issue is organized, the railroad exploitation company formed, and the first loan of 800,000,000 gold marks completely placed.

July 16.—The London Conference on the acceptance of the Dawes report meets with Ambassador Kellogg and Col. James A. Logan, Jr., present as American official observers: Premier MacDonald is chosen president of the conference and three committees are appointed—one to decide upon who may determine German default, another to plan German economic and fiscal reconstruction in the Ruhr, and a third to organize the transfer of German payments from the Berlin representatives to the creditor nations.

July 18.—The United States Government notifies General Tosta, temporary President of Honduras, that neither it nor the four other Central American powers could recognize a Government headed by any of the leaders in the recent revolt (Tosta had promised to hold an election immediately).

At Teheran, Persia, a religious mob assaults and kills Major Robert Whitney Imbrie, the American Vice-Consul.

The United States Government receives copies of the Russo-Chinese agreement on the management

of the Chinese Eastern Railway under which a Russian would take charge with two assistants (one Chinese and one Russian), and Russia raises her envoy at Peking to the rank of Ambassador. . . . The Washington Conference had designated China as trustee of the road.

At Bucharest, American Minister Jay files a protest against the new Rumanian mining law, which is reported prejudicial to American oil investments.

July 19.—China and Belgium sign a contract for extension of the Lunghai Railway from Chenchow to Sianfu, under which China is to raise \$10,000,000 for construction and Belgium will furnish 1,000,000 francs in material.

July 21.—Mr. Hughes, American Secretary of State, speaks unofficially before the Pilgrims Society at London, stating his opinion of the attitude of the United States toward Europe and warning that adoption of the Dawes Report must be in form acceptable to the investing public. . . . Mr. Hughes also speaks as president of the American Bar Association and on behalf of Canadian lawyers, in response to Chancellor Viscount Haldane's welcome at Westminster Hall.

The Persian Government apologizes to the United States for the murder of Major Imbrie and promises apprehension of the assassins; Khalesi-Zadeh, a powerful Mullah chief, is arrested with a number of other persons.

The United States publishes a note to Nicaragua regarding the candidacy of Carlos Selezano for President, declaring that it has no preference as to candidates and desires only fair elections.

July 22.—Ambassador Kellogg mediates in a deadlock of the London Conference arising from French anxiety for security from German aggression, the French plan conflicting with guarantees required by American bankers who will subscribe for a large share of the £40,000,000 loan to Germany. . . . Ambassador Kellogg's plan provides for sanctions only upon recommendation for a default by the Agent General of Reparations, followed by unanimous vote of the Reparation Commission, when the sanctions would be jointly applied by all the allies.

At Washington, the diplomatic correspondence relating to the representation of the Irish Free State by a Minister Plenipotentiary separate from the British Embassy, is published; the appointee is Prof. Timothy A. Smiddy.

July 28.—Col. James A. Logan (American) attempts to end the deadlock at the London Conference over security for the international loan by stating that there would be no objection to an American voting with the Reparation Commission on August 15 to decide whether German legislation effectuating the Dawes plan will have been adequate and also whether the Agent General for Reparations will have taken up his duties. . . . The report of the committee on restoration of economic unity in the Ruhr requires that the Dawes plan be in full force by October 15, and all stipulations of the Reparations Commission fulfilled by October 1, with abolition of French and Belgian customs lines by September 5.

The United States makes formal demand upon Persia for a military guard for the American legation, a guard of honor for the body of Major Imbrie, prompt punishment of the guilty, and indemnity for his death to be paid to his widow.

Secretary Hughes arrives at Paris as president of

the American Bar Association, with a large number of American lawyers.

July 29.—Germany concedes extraterritoriality to the Russian Soviet Trade Mission offices in Berlin until a new commercial treaty supercedes that of 1921, and agrees to indemnify Russia for the raid on the offices in May.

July 30.—The French submit a formula for progressive evacuation of the Ruhr cities of Hagen, Dortmund, Bochum and Essen by French troops together with the Belgian forces, coincident with flotation first of the \$200,000,000 German loan and then of the three issues each of 2,000,000,000 gold marks of railway and industrial bonds, with final military evacuation of the Ruhr on August 15, 1926, if the Dawes plan obligations are fulfilled.

Formal British representations are handed to the United States and Japan to the effect that elevation of guns on capital warships, to increase the radius of action, would be considered a violation of the Washington treaty.

July 31.—Persia accedes fully to American demands regarding the death of Major Imbrie.

Lithuania ratifies the extradition treaty with the United States.

August 1.—At Brussels, Secretary Hughes is honored by Belgian universities.

August 2.—The London Conference approves the reports of its three committees for putting the Dawes report into operation.

China files a formal protest at Tokio against exclusion of coolie laborers from Japan; this is the seventh formal protest since the restriction was imposed in 1922.

August 3.—Secretary Hughes visits Berlin.

Mrs. Rosalie Evans, a British citizen, is murdered by Mexican agrarians near Texmelucan, Puebla.

August 4.—President Obregon of Mexico starts civil and military investigations into the murder of Mrs. Evans, promising punishment of the assassins to Mr. Schoenfeld, American Chargé d'Affaires.

August 5.—The German delegation, headed by Chancellor Marx, arrives at the London Conference upon invitation from Premier MacDonald.

Russo-British negotiations, pending since April 14 seem about to break down on Russian refusal to accept a provision of the general treaty drafted in conjunction with a new commercial treaty which would, it is claimed, permit England to demand compensation eventually for nationalized property in Russia formerly owned by foreigners.

August 6.—Germans raise the question of handling Ruhr railroad labor (there being now a considerable number of French and Belgian workers on German roads) and ask for an earlier date for evacuation of the Ruhr; Dr. Marx submits a 6,000 word memorandum on technical details for giving effect to the Dawes Report.

The Russo-British treaty is concluded, the Soviets yielding on a compromise suggestion of Premier MacDonald which permits two experts from each country to reformulate the objectionable provision; Britain grants extraterritoriality to the Russian trade offices and mission, owing to Soviet monopoly of Russian industries.

August 7.—The London Conference, or Council of Fourteen, accepts without amendment the first committee's report dealing with penalties.

August 11.—The Italo-Yugoslav boundary commission completes its task.

August 12.—British troops are sent to Atbara, in the Sudan, to reinforce the garrison, following trouble with the military cadets at Khartum and conflict between Egyptian and Sudanese troops at other points.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

July 16.—American Army fliers engaged in an air-plane trip around the world reach London.

Rains quench serious forest fires in Washington and Oregon, but eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and California continue to fight fires which have destroyed thousands of acres of timber.

July 17.—The largest submarine of the United States Navy (*V-1*) is launched at Portsmouth, N. H.

July 23.—American lawyers in the London Law Courts present a statue of Sir William Blackstone, whose "Commentaries" on the common law formed the basis of American jurisprudence.

Wheat prices advance seven cents on the Chicago exchange because of reported Canadian shortage due to "black rust" in Manitoba; No. 2 red wheat is quoted at \$1.49, compared with \$1.19 on March 27.

July 31.—At East Orange, N. J., Eugene I. Stack, a railway postal clerk, saves the registered mail in his charge from an attack by two bandits, one of whom he kills in a pistol battle.

August 2-3.—Two of the army planes flying around the world reach Iceland from Scotland; the third, with Lieutenant Wade, is wrecked.

August 4.—Major A. Stuart MacLaren, the British round-the-world flier, is forced to abandon his flight at Nikolski, Komandorski Islands, Siberia.

August 7.—A new railroad merger is proposed by the Van Sweringen brothers which would consolidate the Nickel Plate, the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Hocking Valley, the Pere Marquette, and the Erie.

August 10.—At the Old Hickory Powder plant near Nashville, Tenn., 45,000,000 pounds of explosives are destroyed by fire.

Lieut.-Commander Zachary Lansdowne, commanding the dirigible *Shenandoah*, reports that it successfully weathered a twenty-four hour mooring from a special mast on the U. S. tanker *Patoka*.

OBITUARY

July 13.—Alfred Marshall, emeritus professor of political economy at Cambridge, 81.

July 14.—John W. Perrin, librarian, of Cleveland, 63. . . . John R. Coryell, fictionist and author of "Nick Carter" stories, 76. . . . Mlle. Foch, sister of the French Marshal, 82.

July 16.—John Thompson Spencer, Philadelphia lawyer and editor of "Wallace's Reports of U. S. Supreme Court," 83.

July 17.—Erasmus Darwin Beach, reporter and author, 74. . . . Col. L. M. Koehler, U. S. A. retired, Philippines hero, 67. . . . Prof. Charles Stillman Sperry, University of Colorado, 41.

July 19.—Harry H. Tammen, editor of the *Denver Post*, 67.

July 20.—Rev. Dr. Casper W. Hiatt, former pastor of the American Church at Paris. . . . John Henry Cremer, former associate of Andrew Carnegie, 80.

July 21.—Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent, of Harvard, noted physical culturist, 75. . . . Mrs. Frida de Gebele Ashforth, opera singer and teacher.

July 22.—Capt. Harry George, U. S. N., 61. . . . George F. Williams, Massachusetts orchardist, 80. . . . Sir William Abbott Herdmann, marine biologist. . . . Albert Bruce-Joy, British sculptor.

July 24.—Palmer Cox, creator of the "Brownies," 84.

July 25.—Dr. James Seth, professor of moral philosophy at University of Edinburgh, 64. . . . José A. Benedicto, former Treasurer of Porto Rico.

July 26.—The Right Rev. Leo Haid, O.S.B., president of Belmont College, N.C., 75. . . . Manuel Araulla, Chief Justice of the Philippines.

July 27.—Prof. Frank Frost Abbott, of Princeton, a leading authority on Roman history and literature, 64. . . . Ferruccio Busoni, noted Italian pianist and composer, 58.

July 28.—John Quinn, noted art collector, 54. . . . Edward Henry Peple, playwright, 54. . . . Joseph Francis Ahearn, journalist, of New York, 52. . . . Richard Montgomery Schell, architect.

July 29.—The Rev. Dr. David Spenser, Philadelphia Baptist, 85.

July 30.—Perly Lowe, Chicago lumberman and prominent Methodist layman, 78.

July 31.—Elkan Naumberg, noted music patron and banker, 89. . . . Eric Adolphus Dime, proprietor of the American News Service, 49. . . . James J. Freel, president of Stereotypers' Union, 60.

August 1.—Charles Addison Ferry, noted bridge and masonry designer, 76. . . . Major-Gen. Charles Bowman Dougherty, former commander of the Pennsylvania National Guard, 64.

August 2.—George Shiras, Jr., former Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 92.

August 3.—Teodor Josef Konrad Korzeniowski (Joseph Conrad), the novelist of the sea, 67. . . . Charles Elroy Townsend, former United States Senator from Michigan, 68. . . . Dr. Simon Newton Dexter North, former Director of the Census, 74. . . . Olivier O. Provosty, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, 72. . . . Alexander Saslavsky, concert master and violinist, 48.

August 4.—Otto F. Branstetter, Socialist leader, 47.

August 5.—Dr. Edward Souchon, distinguished New Orleans surgeon, 82.

August 6.—Dr. Henry Moeller, New York physician, 82. . . . Arthur N. Cooley, Massachusetts orchid culturist, 68.

August 7.—Henry Joseph Church Dubois, leading Rhode Island lawyer, 74. . . . Dr. George Arthur Piersol, noted anatomist, 58.

August 8.—Camille W. Zeckwer, Philadelphia composer, 49. . . . Caleb E. Johnson, Milwaukee manufacturer, 67. . . . James A. R. Elliott, former world champion pigeon shot, 70.

August 9.—Dick Latta Lansden, former Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Tennessee, 55.

August 10.—Mary Stewart Cutting, author, of Orange, N. J., 73. . . . Frank B. Carvell, head of Canadian Railway Commissioners, 63.

August 11.—J. Sherwood Seymour, publisher, 64. . . . Michael Myers Shoemaker, author, 71. . . . Harry Davidson, noted wood engraver, 67.

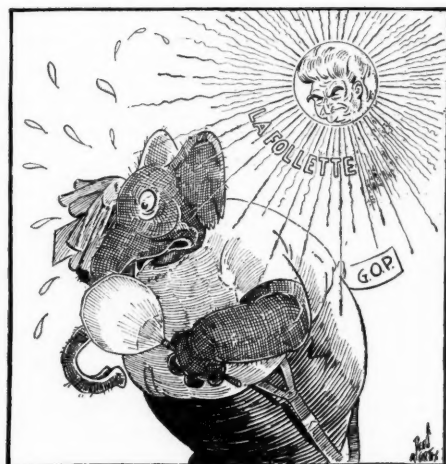
August 12.—The Rev. Samuel P. Gurney, M.D., Methodist missionary in Africa, 64.

VARIOUS SUMMER TOPICS IN CARTOONS



PLAYING NO FAVORITES

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



"WHAT DO THEY MEAN, KEEP COOL?"

From the *Record* (Fort Worth, Texas)

[There are those who profess to believe that the new party will make its greatest progress among Republican supporters]



THE JIG SAW PUZZLE

UNCLE SAM. "Good work, John—you've got the Democratic party together again."

From the *Times* (New York)



THE THIRD PARTY CHEERFULLY UNDER-TAKES THE ROLE OF SAMSON

From the *Evening Post* (New York)



SUCH INDEPENDENCE!
From the Item (New Orleans, La.)



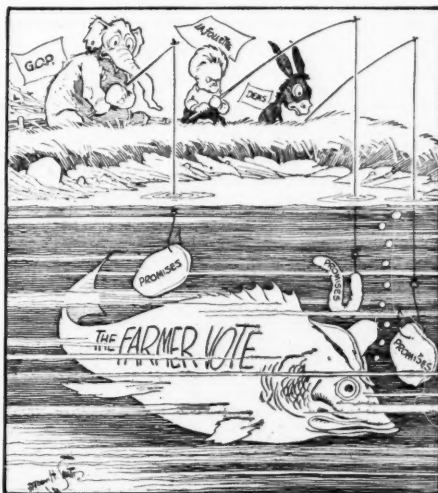
THE FARMER MAY DOUBT IT
From the Age-Herald (Birmingham, Ala.)

THE reader will find comment in our editorial pages this month upon a peculiar turn wrought by Nature in the political fortunes of the presidential candidates. Indications of a poor wheat crop in Canada seem likely to mean many thousands of votes for Coolidge; for the Western wheat farmer will be more con-

tented with his financial condition this fall than for some years past. Financial contentment means, to some extent, political contentment as well. The support thus gained by Coolidge can only come, it is argued further, from the ranks of prospective LaFollette voters.



IT MAY BE ANOTHER CASE OF "SAMSON AND DELILAH"
From the News (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE PRIZE CATCH OF THE SEASON—BUT WHOSE BAIT WILL THE FISH TRY?
From the Evening News (Kenosha, Wis.)



THE DANCE OF THE MARIONETTES

From the News (Omaha, Neb.)



THE ICY-HOT PARADE

From the Bee (Sacramento Cal.)



T'WAS EVER THUS—From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)



THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN

From the Jersey Journal (Jersey City, N. J.)

[An unexpected rise in the price of wheat within recent weeks has put the western farmer on his feet again]



CAN HE SHAKE IT OFF?

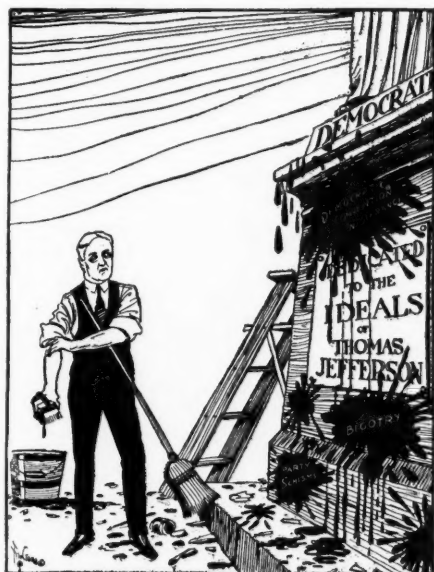
From the Blade (Toledo, Ohio)



SLIGHTLY INCONSISTENT

From the News (Dallas, Texas)

With the month of September the presidential campaign will be in full swing, and there will be no let-up until the election has been held on November 4 and the votes counted. Before the notification and acceptance ceremonies, in the middle of August, campaign interest had seemed



MR. DAVIS HAS SOME JOB ON HIS HANDS

From the News (Detroit, Mich.)



THE MAGICIAN WHO PRODUCES PROSPERITY

From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)

to lag so far as concerned the old parties at least. The new LaFollette Progressive organization acquired most of the publicity and made plenty of hay while the sun was shining. Thereupon came promises from Republican and Democratic camps that the great game of American politics would soon be in full swing.



IT'S HARD TO BOIL THE KETTLE WITH WATER-SOAKED WOOD

From the News (Dayton, Ohio)



THE LONG ROAD TO PEACE

PREMIER HERRIOT of France (to the British Prime Minister):
"Go a little slower, Mac!"

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



1914-1924

(Europe still carries the usual burden)

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



DURING THE STORM

ITALY (walking with Premier Mussolini, under the umbrella): "I know the value of *their* umbrellas. As soon as this is properly mended, it will serve me well enough!"

From *Il Travoso* (Rome, Italy)



THE CONDITIONS OF THE AMERICAN LOAN

J. P. MORGAN: "As long as that French fellow stands there with a lighted fuse, I will not lend one cent on the house."

From Kikeriki (Vienna, Austria)



WAITING NEAR THE PAWNSHOP

[Germany is to borrow money, under the Dawes plan, by mortgaging its railroads. But the German still fears the financial drains of French Army of occupation]

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin, Germany)



AMERICAN ELECTION TROUBLES

McAdoo: "Anyhow I hold the world's record. It's something to have fallen 103 times from a donkey."

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin, Germany)



UNCLE SAM HAS IMPORTANT BUSINESS

"Say, boys, I darsay you would like me to take a hand in the game, but I'm darned busy. Your reparations business has been going on for years, anyway. What's the rush now?"

From the Bulletin (Glasgow, Scotland)



ALL THAT HE IS WAITING FOR

CHORUS OF ALLIED MINISTERS: "Why don't you strip and come in? The water's fine!"
 THE MAN ON THE JETTY: "Wal! I'd like ter join yew, but I guess I'll have ter kinder wait till I'm pushed."

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)



JUST LIKE THE BRITISH

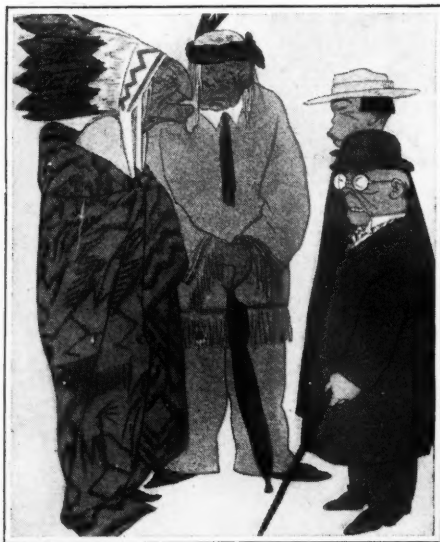
JOHN BULL: "Well, Sam, you helped me knock Fritz down. I want your further assistance to help him up!"

From the *Evening Express* (Cardiff, Wales)

[The British still desire more active participation by Uncle Sam in the work of reestablishing the world]

In this department last month we reproduced a number of foreign cartoons which took America to task for seeking to restrict immigration. The same topic is taken up again this month, on these two facing pages. Of especial interest are the four cartoons from Japanese newspapers which present various phases of the Asiatic

point of view. In gathering the Japanese cartoons we have been helped by the *Transpacific*, published in Tokyo. The German and Scotch periodicals whose pictorial comment is reproduced below both seize upon the same idea—that the original Americans should have practiced exclusion against the early settlers.



THE OLDEST AND THE YOUNGEST OF U S A.

"The Yankees are getting a bit exclusive—you Indians should not have given them permission to immigrate in the first place."

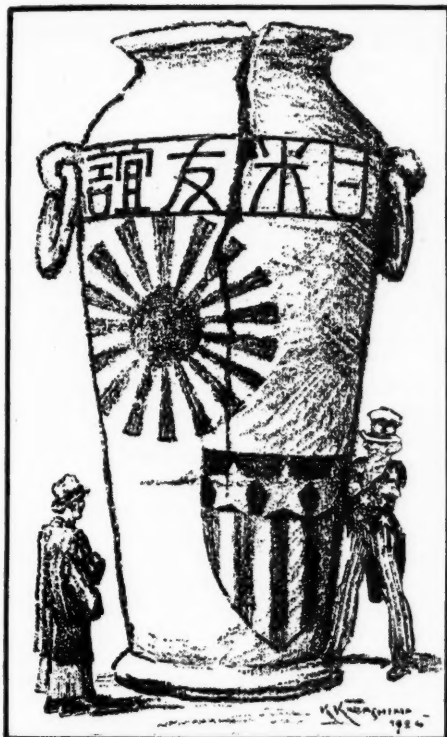
From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)



THE ORIGINAL OWNER DIDN'T THINK OF IT

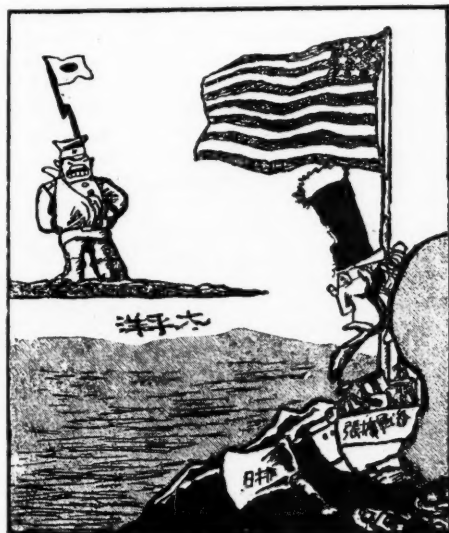
THE NOBLE RED MAN: "Why did our ancestors not bring in this quota regulation when Columbus first set foot in America?"

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)



THE VASE REPRESENTING AMERICAN-JAPANESE AMITY HAS BEEN BROKEN

From Asahi



JAPAN AND UNCLE SAM GLARING AT EACH OTHER ACROSS THE PACIFIC

From Chuwa



BOYCOTTING AMERICAN GOODS

[The Jap on his hands in the foreground is kicking at Uncle Sam (the proposed boycott) but his countryman in the United States is hurt in the meantime]

From Miyako



WHILE UNCLE SAM IS KICKING OUT THE JAPS HIS FOREIGN MISSIONARY IS PREACHING CHRISTIANITY TO THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

From Miyako

THE CONFERENCE OF LONDON

ITS BACKGROUND AND ITS OUTCOME

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE past four weeks have seen not merely the most significant of all the fourteen international conferences which have followed the original Paris peace meeting and have sought to solve the problems of European reorganization, but in addition, in this period, American official representatives, supplementing those unofficial Americans who shared in the making of the Dawes Plan, working in coöperation with European statesmen to a degree unequalled since the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to obtain American acceptance and the consequent retirement of the United States from European affairs.

In view of the importance and character of the discussions and decisions made at the London Conference, which opened on July 16, I shall seek in the present article to deal with three distinct phases, logical divisions of the whole question: first, the historical background of the whole reparations dispute; secondly, the Anglo-French or Allied phase of the London Conference, and, finally, the Allied-German phase of the negotiations.

To appreciate the discussions which took place between the French and the British, with Ambassador Kellogg and Colonel James A. Logan sitting in for the United States, it is essential first of all to grasp not alone the contemporary phase of the reparations dispute, but also the circumstances leading up to this phase. Actually, then, we have to go back to the Paris Conference of 1919, which made the Treaty of Versailles and was the point of departure of the whole discussion.

In the making of the Treaty of Versailles the matter of reparations was founded upon the provision in the Armistice of November 11, 1918, which required German pledges to meet the costs of the full reparations for the

destruction done to civilian property by reason of German invasion.

That this covered the destruction of the property in the invaded regions was not disputed by the Germans, but the real point of departure of the whole reparations wrangle was the contention of the British, of Lloyd George under pressure from the colonial premiers, that civilian damages should include war pensions and separation allowances. You must see that if these were not included the share of the British Empire in reparations would be small and that Lloyd George had every reason to desire to make a showing for his own constituency.

The American financial experts at the Paris Conference maintained that the inclusion of pensions was, first, a violation of the terms of the Armistice, and, secondly, sheer folly, because the utmost Germany could pay would be required to meet the costs of reconstruction of actual ruins. In the end General Smuts succeeded in persuading President Wilson to permit the pensions to be included. As a consequence, the size of the bill to be presented to Germany was trebled and the British share was increased from something less than 4 per cent. to 22 per cent.

At the moment, of course, the sum total of reparations was not fixed, but a Reparations Commission was created to pass upon the claims of the various nations. It was not until May, 1921, that this commission actually completed its report. At that time the total bill of \$33,000,000,000 assessed against Germany was in practice, although never officially, divided into two items—pensions, representing upwards of \$22,000,000,000, and reconstruction of ruins, \$11,000,000,000.

Meantime an enormous change in the view of the British had taken place. The fact was perceived that Germany could

only pay reparations in goods and services and that both increased production of goods and increased activity in services—shipping, for example—meant in reality corresponding diminution in British production and profits. To take goods from Germany in reparations payments meant no more than the corresponding reduction of British production—meant unemployment.

Accordingly the British expert judgment now grasped the fact that British interest lay not in the receipt of reparations, not indeed in making Germany pay, but in the restoration of the world markets and the German markets and in general the purchasing power of the customers of Great Britain. In fact, this meant the reduction of reparations, the restoration of German prosperity, and a return to pre-war conditions.

But the French situation was quite different. For France the question of German payment of reparations was vital, because the French Government was spending a sum which by 1924 would amount to some \$6,000,000,000 in the reconstruction of French ruins, while Belgium was making proportionate effort in her devastated area. France and Belgium, and particularly France, were therefore interested not in German economic restoration but in German reparations payments, and France was obviously unwilling that Germany should recover economically, thus becoming a political and military menace to France, save as Germany paid. Britain wanted to see Germany restored so that she could trade. France was unwilling that Germany should be restored save as restoration was a circumstance in payment. Britain could not take German payments in goods because British and German production was competitive. France could because French and German production was largely complementary.

Thus for the British the inclusion of pensions in the Treaty of Versailles was proven in a brief period to be nothing short of disaster, because it saddled upon Germany a bill which was in excess of German capacity, and thus encouraged Germany to a resistance which was to have fatal consequences alike for British industry and for Anglo-French relations. But it must be perceived that the point of departure of the trouble was the failure of Lloyd George and his associates to perceive that the true interest of Britain was to keep down, not to

enlarge, the sum of reparations and in fact to obtain not reparations but, so far as Britain was concerned, a restoration of the German markets and purchasing power for British goods. Too many American commentators have inaccurately assumed that the responsibility for the unwise and excessive expansion of the bill for reparations at Paris lay with the French, but the truth is fully disclosed in the authoritative account of Mr. Bernard M. Baruch in his book upon this phase of the Paris Conference.

France at Paris was not opposed to the inclusion of pensions because at that time France, like Britain, was suffering from the delusion that there was no real limit to German capacity to pay and Clemenceau could not, therefore, oppose British claims to pensions. But the Americans from the beginning saw the truth and were wholly vindicated by events. Had the British only listened to American advice, much of the worst of the reparations quarrel would in all probability have been avoided.

As a result of the Treaty and the subsequent action of the Reparations Commission, the bill against Germany was fixed at around \$33,000,000,000 and in May, 1921, Germany was forced by an ultimatum, issued at an earlier London Conference, to accept the bill and to undertake payment. This date of May, 1921, is important because it marks the moment when the Reparations Commission began to function. It also marks the start of the disputes which were to lead in a little more than two years to the complete deadlock between Britain and France and the actual occupation of the Ruhr.

In addition, by previous decision at a Spa conference, the Allies had agreed upon the following division of reparations: France 52 per cent., Britain 22 per cent., Italy 10 per cent., Belgium 8 per cent., and the other Allied nations collectively 8 per cent. This circumstance is important to keep in mind, for the later Franco-Belgian partnership represented 60 per cent. of the claims against Germany, and in reality France had the backing of the states holding 8 per cent.; while in the test of 1922, which I shall discuss in a moment, Italy voted with France and Belgium. Thus actually 70 per cent., and in reality 78 per cent., of the claims against Germany were represented by the vote which declared Germany in default in 1922.

II. THE REPARATIONS COMMISSION

It is necessary now to glance at the composition and functions of the Reparations Commission, which actually got down to its task of collecting the claims against Germany in May, 1921. Under the terms of the Treaty it was to be composed of representatives of France, Britain, Belgium, Italy and the United States, with a Japanese representative replacing the Belgian when shipping matters were under discussion. The French representative was to preside always and to have the casting vote in case of a tie. This latter power became all-important when America retired and the Commission thus shrunk to a membership of four. With the support of a single nation, France could then always dominate the Reparations Commission.

By the time the bill against Germany had been fixed the world was already fully aware that it exceeded German capacity to pay and as a consequence in 1921 Germany was not asked to begin payments to cover the whole sum, but only a fraction. But the impossible sum remained in the background and thus Germany from the outset was deprived of any incentive to do the possible because the reward would be to have more of the impossible fastened upon her. She was, moreover, encouraged in resistance to payments by the growing differences between the British and the French based upon the divergence of interests and accentuated by the trickiness and instability of Lloyd George.

An actual crisis arrived in the fall of 1922, when Germany, having already obtained a measure of moratorium in cash payments, announced her intention of suspending both cash and material tributes and demanded an extended moratorium. The British listened with favor to this German demand, while the French saw in it an attempt to escape from all reparations and met it with instant opposition. Meantime Lloyd George had given way to Bonar Law in Britain and Briand to Poincaré in France—a change which at once insured greater vigor in French policy and less sustained opposition on the part of Britain.

The next step is of utmost importance because it supplies the key to most of what happened in the Anglo-French phase of the recent London Conference. The Reparations Commission, in accordance with its

rights, met in Paris at the end of 1922 and pronounced Germany in wanton default, that is, in effect asserted that Germany was guilty of deliberate evasion. The vote in the commission was decisive. Italy and Belgium stood with France and the British representative, Sir John Bradbury, did not vote at all.

Meantime the British undertook, first in London and then in Paris, to prevent punitive action against Germany by making financial offers to the Continental powers. The most considerable of these was the proposal to cancel all of the debts of the Continental states to Britain, save only an amount sufficient to cover the difference between the British share of German reparations, reduced to a moderate figure, and the British debt to the United States, which had now been funded at \$4,000,000,000. But this British proposal was rejected out of hand by all three of the Continental states.

Following the failure of the Paris Conference, France, accompanied by Belgium and with Italian acquiescence, now marched into the Ruhr. The British Government abstained from participation and the British Premier insisted that the whole action was a mistake, from the point of view of the actual accomplishment of the end in view, namely, making Germany pay. He raised no legal or formal objection, however, and, indeed, wished the French success, while asserting the sorrowful opinion that success was impossible because the wrong method had been employed.

What followed was the passive resistance of Germany, the long months of something approaching war, the complete ruin of German finance as a consequence of the effort to support passive resistance by the resort to inflation, and in the end the complete collapse of passive resistance and the unconditional surrender of the Germans. This brings us to the close of 1923 and the opening of the international discussions which led to the creation of the Dawes Committee and its report of April of this year.

Now the report of the Dawes Committee has already been summarized in this series of articles and it needs no further comment now than to say that this committee presented a plan by which Germany was to pay a sum which would start at a low figure and mount gradually to a maximum of \$600,000,000 annually, that the payment was to be

made through intricate machinery which amounted to preventing the outflow of gold from Germany in a fashion to disturb exchange and in the main amounted to establishing credits for the creditor nations to purchase within the German Empire. German railways and other utilities were also to be mortgaged to cover the payments.

In substance the Dawes Commission established the fact that Germans could pay and could pay largely, for the annual payments fixed by it, namely \$600,000,000, represented, if continued for the same period as the British payments to the United States, a capital value of some \$10,000,000,000 or more—in fact, pretty close to the sum which represented the actual cost of reconstruction of devastated areas. In a word, this was the bill which would have been agreed upon at Versailles had the American will prevailed against the British and war pensions been omitted.

In addition the Dawes Plan provided that Germany should have full economic control of all of its territory and industries, that is, it called for the termination of the Franco-Belgian exploitation of the Ruhr. It did not, however, traverse the vital question of the length of the German payments, that is, the number of years Germany should continue to pay, nor the matter of the military evacuation of the Ruhr, because both lay outside of the province assigned to it when it was appointed.

The main questions which were before the London Conference of last month and of the latter half of July were, then: How shall the Dawes Plan be applied, how administered, and what arrangements can be made with the Germans in the matter of accepting it? Naturally this called first for an agreement between the British and the French and then between the Allies and Germany.

In the meantime the occupation of the Ruhr had raised many points. The British, for example, who had contented themselves with abstaining from participation in January, 1922, when the occupation began, in midsummer had suddenly raised the question of the legality of the Franco-Belgian operation under the Treaty of Versailles. This was futile, obviously, because French and Belgian jurists asserted the legality which British jurists denied and the Allies were actually in the Ruhr where a conflict was going forward.

These events, however, led the British to adopt the policy which was expressed in London, later, that the Reparations Commission must be deprived of its control of reparations, since in the last analysis France could control it and thus could declare a German default, with the support of Belgium, which was assured, and that, in addition, an agreement must be reached which would in the future stop all such taking of sanctions as the Ruhr occupation.

The French and Belgians, on the contrary, while accepting the Dawes Report, were in no mood to surrender their rights to act, if after having accepted the Dawes Report Germany again resorted to deliberate evasion to escape payment. Herriot was pledged in advance of the London Conference not to surrender the right to act against Germany, for France to act even individually if Germany defaulted again.

Moreover, it must be appreciated that while the British insist that the occupation of the Ruhr was not only a crime but a blunder, that it failed to achieve the end aimed at while embittering Germany, the French believe it was the thing which made the Dawes Commission possible and—if anything can—will make Germany pay. And in this the French have the interesting confirmation of General Dawes himself, who never concealed his view that the Ruhr occupation was an inevitable step in the march toward adjustment and gave public utterance to that opinion in Paris.

III. FINANCE AND POLITICS

When the London Conference opened there were the British and French views in complete opposition. America was present, supporting the Dawes Report and eager to get it adopted, but withholding her views on the conflicting policies. In addition there was in the background the delegation representing international finance, which under the Dawes Plan would now have a part to play, and in reality international finance means in this instance American and British capitalists, represented by Thomas W. Lamont on the American side and Sir Montagu Norman on the British.

Finance was concerned because the fundamental detail of the Dawes Plan called for the flotation of a loan to Germany of \$200,000,000, a portion of which was to serve to get the fiscal system of Germany on its feet again, a portion to go to France

to meet only less immediate needs. And one of the largest reasons for either French or German acceptance of the Dawes Plan was the desire to touch the money involved. Therefore, within limits, it was the financier and not the statesman who sat in the seat of power.

Obviously, moreover, finance held to the British view. Once the bankers had floated a loan of \$200,000,000 then they would be concerned with protecting the bondholders, but these bondholders would be at once affected if France should again occupy the Ruhr because such occupation would injure German capacity to repay interest and principal on the loan. Therefore Finance, like British policy, sought to prevent for all future time any occupation of German territory without regard to the matter of German good faith. Default or no default, the bankers were out to preserve their bondholders. For whether German default were inescapable or deliberate, French occupation would be equally disastrous to them.

France and Belgium, on the other hand, while eager to share in the proceeds of the loan, were not in a position to surrender the single power to enforce payments, which for France alone under the Dawes Plan would amount to \$312,000,000 annually for an indefinite number of years, solely to share modestly in a loan of \$200,000,000. The clash of these two points of view produced the deadlock which for some days threatened failure for the first phase of the London Conference.

In the end and largely through American intervention a compromise was reached, which aimed at protecting the legitimate interests of all concerned. The spirit of the compromise, which was actually brought forward by the French, was this: The financiers are entitled to protection against any wanton or unwarranted declaration of default by France. In a word, it should not rest with France alone to decide whether Germany has wilfully defaulted. On the other hand, if the default be established as deliberate and wilful, France cannot be asked to surrender the right to act alone if no one else will march with her or to use coercion merely because such coercion might affect the relatively minor sum loaned to Germany by the bankers.

We had, then, the compromise which covers the whole question. In the first place, the power of the Reparations Com-

mission is curtailed in two directions. When the question of default is raised an American will sit with the French, Belgian, British and Italian representatives. Thus France loses her casting vote, for the commission is increased from four to five members. In addition, when the issue has been raised, unless the decision of the Reparations Commission be unanimous, any country can appeal and then the matter will be submitted to an arbitral committee of three. An American will always be chairman of this arbitral commission, his associates will be from neutral nations, and all will be named either by the Reparations Commission by unanimous vote or by the President of the Hague International Court of Justice.

Observe now how this system would have operated in the single instance when the question of default was raised, namely, before the Ruhr occupation. Then the presence of an American, even had he voted with the British representative against the default, would not have affected the situation in the Commission, since France, Italy and Belgium voted that Germany was in wilful default. But the English representative could then have appealed from the Reparations Commission's decision and then the whole issue would have gone to an arbitral commission. But had this commission sustained the majority, that is, the French view, then the decision would have been final and France and Belgium would have been as free to act as before.

In reality what has happened is that France has agreed to arbitrate the question of whether Germany is in wilful default. Any British or other apprehension lest France take advantage of her strategic position to declare Germany in default without regard to the facts and for the purpose of bringing about German destruction is effectively laid. But any German temptation to resort again to wilful evasion, arising from the fact that France would be without remedy, disappears, for if the evasion is wilful the neutral arbitral commission must so declare and then France is free to act.

As long as Germany acts in good faith she is protected under the London Compromise and France is correspondingly restrained, but once Germany departs from honest effort to perform she loses her protection. Obviously both the bankers and the British will not be more reconciled to

French action than before, because the interests of both lie not in the production of reparations but on the one hand in payment on the loan and on the other in purchase of British goods. French occupation of German territory will also continue to seem perilous to the British on the political side, but patently unless the British and the bankers were ready in advance to guarantee German payments or promise to pay if Germany failed, there was no chance under Heaven of persuading France to abandon her right of coercion.

Both Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald in the debate in the House of Commons disclosed British opposition to the use of force by France in any event, but no one familiar with the French situation could doubt that had Herriot made any larger concession he would have fallen as Briand did because of his Cannes yielding, and then the whole work of London and perhaps of the Dawes Commission would have gone for nothing. Yet MacDonald did make it clear that the British Government still strongly holds to the view that the Ruhr occupation was illegal.

By contrast with the foregoing circumstance the balance of the Anglo-French agreement was unimportant. An American Agent-General, in all probability Owen D. Young, the man most responsible for the Dawes Report itself, will serve as its administrator. Certain other doubtful points are left to later arbitration, but the hearty comment of MacDonald, "Now that we and the French are in agreement only the Devil himself can separate us," reveals the sense of relief and satisfaction felt by the British Government, while the Paris comments, if less decided, were on the whole without menacing criticism.

The presence of Mr. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, in London and Paris in the critical days of the debate and his unequivocal indication that America approved the Dawes Report and regarded it as the single charter of peace and reconstruction in Europe, and the presence of American representatives at the conference table had a marked influence in insuring agreement. Yet in the last analysis the fact of agreement must be ascribed to the personality of the two men who represented France and Britain, the sympathy and confidence each elicited from the other. It represented the fruition of more than half a year of patient and uniformly open

and sincere effort on the part of MacDonald, while the courage and determination of Herriot to save the Entente and arrive at a settlement while saving the Dawes Plan must command enduring admiration.

IV. THE ANGLO-FRENCH PHASE SUMMARIZED

In summing up this Anglo-French phase of the London Conference I cannot forbear to emphasize again the rather misleading character of much of the comment on this side of the ocean with respect of the final agreement. It has been assumed that France in some fashion resigned the power and right to act individually, just as it has been assumed that the Ruhr occupation represented such individual action. As I have tried to make clear, nothing of the sort happened. Even prior to the Ruhr occupation the British member of the Reparations Commission did not argue that the Germans were not in default or that the default was not wilful. He only abstained from voting while the representatives of France, Belgium and Italy did declare the default.

In the declaration of the default, then, France did not act individually, nor in going into the Ruhr did she act alone. Belgium marched with her and Italy participated in principle. The British did not raise the question of legality at the time, nor for many months, and then it was purely an *ex post facto* performance rendered almost ridiculous by reason of the fact that the British Prime Minister, Bonar Law, while regarding the step as futile, wished the French success in it and Lloyd George, when Prime Minister, had asserted the right of nations to act individually. In fact the British did not argue after the Ruhr that one nation should not act alone, but that no nation should act unless all four were in agreement.

Even under the existing arrangement of London, assuming that the German default should again be wilful, as it was in 1922, and this fact has not been questioned, and assuming that France and Belgium chose to act, they would still be free to occupy the Ruhr. Whether they would or not is quite another question and would depend upon circumstances. British policy has been at two critical moments compromised by grave errors—first, in insisting upon the

enormous expansion of the sum of reparations at Paris in 1919, and then in 1923 in failing to raise the issue of the legality of the Ruhr occupation in advance, but instead assenting at the moment and only protesting long afterward.

The Dawes Report, itself, moreover, does not represent a victory for the British, but for the French contention; for in the essential detail, namely, the amount Germany shall pay annually, it fixes a figure greatly in excess of that of the Keynes school, which was adopted by Lloyd George, and very plainly indicates that German failure to pay in the past has been due not to actual inability but to deliberate evasion, which was always the French argument. What is worse, from the standpoint of the British, it now establishes on the authority of experts, American among others, German liability for a very great sum and furnishes France with a moral vindication for any later step which may be prompted by German evasion of duties which are witnessed by experts and thus outside the political field.

If you accept the allegation made by certain English journals and various Americans that France has never cared to collect reparations, but has always intended to destroy Germany by using military intervention on the pretext of German failure to comply with impossible demands, then the London agreement does represent a French defeat because it does tie French hands. But such allegations rest on the assumption that France was responsible for the expansion of the total reparations to impossible heights, which is not true, and that France has opposed reduction to possible limits, which is equally demonstrated to be untrue by French acceptance of the financial phase of the Dawes Report without cavil.

The same sort of argument, taking the view of certain French journals, would make the Dawes Report a complete defeat for the British, for these French sources have always maintained that the purpose of the British was to save Germany at French expense, restore the German market for British trade at the cost of abolishing all reparations payments, and by means of disarmament conferences deprive France of her military weapon to enforce German performance.

The truth, it would seem to me, lies in the recognition that the legitimate and vital necessities of the French and British are

conflicting. France needs reparations payments to live and in addition has every incentive to prevent German recovery and the resulting menace to French security unless payment is assured, while Britain is unaffected by any military danger incident to German economic recovery and not only cannot accept reparations payments herself without corresponding injury to her own economic system, but also suffers as German reparations payments to the Continental states in goods and coals reduce her exports to those countries and stimulate German production and thus ultimate German competition with Britain.

It is substantially true that any payment by Germany of reparations in goods, the sole method of considerable payment, injures Britain, while any French resort to military coercion to compel payment at once injures British markets in Germany and by disturbing all Europe does similar and wider damage. Since it leads to war in the end, it must menace British security and threaten to involve Britain in a new Continental conflict. But it is equally true that the failure of Germany to pay reparations insures French bankruptcy, while German recovery on the economic side, without payment to France, leaves France well-nigh helpless before her greater enemy.

All the European anarchy of recent years has been due to this fundamental divergence of interests and the conviction held in London and Paris that the purely national interests of either nation could have absolute dominance. Lloyd George in his day of greatness was convinced that he could impose British views upon France. Poincaré in his turn held something of the opposite view. But neither nation could in fact have its way, because both were sufficiently strong to check the opponent, but neither strong enough to get positive results.

The value of American participation in the controversy has lain in the fact that having no concern of a vital character at stake, we have been able to take an objective view and to recognize the justice in both the British and French contentions, together with the injustice. Thus we have always held the view that Germany must pay up to her capacity and, while regretting the Ruhr expedition, by no means adopted the British line of unqualified condemnation.

Our views are expressed in the Dawes Report, which establishes Germany's capacity to pay largely, as the French in-

sisted, and in the London Compromise, which protects Germany from aggression just as long as she makes a decent effort to perform. The slightest sign of a French purpose to crush Germany, to prevent her recovery through fear or jealousy, would instantly enlist American opposition. But, by contrast, if Germany will not pay she will hardly get American support, even though her bad faith provokes new invasion.

We have steadily declined to become involved in the dispute as long as we were invited to come in as the ally of either country against the other. Our participation in increasing measure has only come as we have concluded that both countries had reached a state of mind in which they were prepared to accept a fair settlement, which, after all, is what the Dawes Plan as interpreted at London is.

Nevertheless, while highly advantageous for France and Belgium and tolerable and perhaps even profitable for Germany, the Dawes Plan seems to me of wholly dubious advantage to Britain, since it not only insures the economic rehabilitation of a potential rival, but it means the enormous restriction of British markets in France, Belgium and Italy, when German payments of reparation in kind begin. If, moreover, it should be attended by any combination of German coal and French iron interests, it might prove a real disaster. But this circumstance, while deserving note, remains for the future.

V. THE GERMAN DELEGATION AT LONDON

Turning now to the German phase of the London Conference, certain things are already plain although it is not yet possible to comment upon the final achievement. In the first place, the German representatives who came to London in 1924 displayed a totally different spirit from those who represented the Reich in Paris in 1919 or at any of the various conferences subsequent to that of Genoa in 1922, when Rathenau's secret treaty with the Soviet brought down Lloyd George's whole plan to save Germany and led to the fatal isolation of the German delegation.

There is a rather delicious legend in London that when the Labor Premier, Ramsay MacDonald, succeeded the ultra-aristocratic Viscount Curzon at the Foreign

Office some permanent official expressed his reaction to the change in the words. "Thank God, at last we have a gentleman to deal with." In any event, the advent of MacDonald has been marked by the return of old-fashioned courtesy, which is perhaps a detail of old-fashioned diplomacy that is still defensible. Thus in the dealings with both the French and the Germans the British Prime Minister has been able to avoid the unpleasant circumstances of the past; and neither Stresemann nor Herriot has shown the smallest inclination to employ methods which Germans and Frenchmen had used in the days of Lloyd George and Curzon.

The Germans came to London and were received in a spirit quite different from that which has marked their foreign excursions since the days of the war. Nor did they in their intercourse either with Britons or with Frenchmen display the smallest evidence of that supersensitiveness and excessive suspicion of intended affront which explained many earlier blunders. On the contrary, Herriot, in his brief visit to Paris on August 10, gave public testimony to the correctness of the behavior of the German representatives, and this circumstance made discussion between the French and Germans both possible and fruitful.

Ramsay MacDonald once explained his foreign policy to me—that is, the opening phase of it—as an effort not to accomplish large results but rather to create an atmosphere in which large results could be accomplished. The London Conference was from all angles a striking tribute to his success and proof of the tact which he possesses and has displayed in all foreign questions. I recall a Canadian journalist's story to me of his visit to London just after the present Labor Government came into office. He said: "My Tory friends said to me, 'Ingram, MacDonald will be the greatest Foreign Minister since Disraeli.' Then my Liberal friends confided in me that he would be the best since Gladstone." If it is too early to claim for MacDonald that he has justified either of these extravagant forecasts, it is at least just to point out that his London Conference did nothing to prove them absurd. After fourteen unsuccessful conferences marred by personal as well as political differences the London Conference, up to the moment I close this article, has been one international meeting of a wholly different kind.

Coming to London the German representatives, like the French, were obviously operating under grave handicaps. For both there was the certainty of repudiation at home if they seemed to have yielded essential points or failed to obtain satisfactory prices for such concessions as were made. And for the Germans the all-essential concession was the evacuation of the Ruhr, and more than this the pledge of speedy evacuation.

France had gone into the Ruhr, on her own testimony, not to obtain security, not to collect reparations, but only to bring Germany to a realization that there was no escape from payment. She had expanded what was to have been an occupation without considerable military force into a real military occupation because Germany had resorted to passive resistance and she had remained after the end of passive resistance because, pending the acceptance of the Dawes report, there was no guarantee that Germany would pay and thus enable France to attain the end for which the Ruhr operation was undertaken.

Now at London, France and Germany were both pledged to the acceptance of the Dawes Report and both Poincaré and Herriot had announced the French readiness to evacuate the Ruhr. The main difficulty lay in the fact that the French had disclosed a purpose to make their retirement contingent on Germany's acceptance of the Dawes Report, not in principle but by carrying out the preliminaries provided for, while the Germans had similarly indicated in advance that they were not prepared to put these preliminaries into effect unless the French troops were first withdrawn.

On the French side it could be argued that France would be in effect confessing to the failure of the Ruhr measure and retiring without any solid advantage, if she took her troops home before Germany complied with the Dawes provisions. It could be further argued by Nationalist critics of the Herriot government that in thus retiring the French Premier had offered Germany a chance to resort to new evasion. In a word, it could be argued, and was, in Paris, that if France retired in advance of German performance Germany might not perform and France would be left with the choice between a new Ruhr operation and fatal loss of reparations.

On the other hand, it was just as plain that the Germans might argue that if the

French armies remained until after Germany had complied they might continue to stay thereafter finding some pretext for their occupation. There were in reality two quite legitimate preoccupations apart from the political aspects. The Germans in the main believed that the French had occupied the Ruhr not to collect reparations but to destroy Germany. The evacuation of the Ruhr had become for them just as important a thing as the evacuation of Northern France was for the French during the war and the evacuation of Belgium for the Allies in the Armistice terms. The German delegation could not go home, the Marx-Stresemann Ministry could not survive, if it accepted the Dawes Plan without obtaining French and Belgian agreement to evacuate the Ruhr promptly.

But Herriot could not go home and could not meet his political opponents if his consent to evacuate were not balanced by some definite guarantee of German performance. He had to be just as sure Germany would perform as Stresemann had to be that France would get out. And obviously there were complicating issues of national prestige to be considered, since each party had to avoid the appearance of being the first to yield.

Yet the real basis of hope in the situation lay in the fact that France was willing to get out of the Ruhr if Germany did her part and Germany was manifestly willing to undertake the Dawes Plan if France did get out. Both peoples, the business interests, the mass of the men actually concerned, were at one in seeing in the Dawes Plan the single exit from an otherwise hopeless situation. If either people or either group of politicians had desired to prevent an agreement, if the fundamental interest of either nation had lain in any other direction, then the opportunity to block all agreement was patent.

But from the very first moment the Germans did give evidence of their readiness to accept the Dawes Report, to adopt the agreements which had already been reached in the Anglo-French phase of the London Conference. The technical objections and modifications which they raised were without exception based upon reason and not upon any captious desire to make trouble. The fears that they would demand revision of that portion of the Treaty of Versailles which placed the guilt for the war on their shoulders proved baseless.

All the Germans asked was, first, that the French should agree to retire from the Ruhr at once and, secondly, that they should not be permitted, as they in company with the Belgians demanded, to leave a certain number of railway men of French and Belgian nationality on the lines which were in use and might again be used as a detail in military occupation. Both of these demands were outside the Dawes Plan discussion; for the Dawes Plan had never touched the subject of military occupation of the Ruhr as contrasted with economic. But in insisting upon the retirement of French and Belgian railway men they also agreed to abandon the right to strike for the German employees of these lines while still in part used to supply the occupying force, whose retirement in any event would take time.

I shall return to this question of evacuation in a moment, but it remains now simply to note that save for their claims in the matter of immediate evacuation the Germans accepted the whole Dawes formula with an absence of objection which created surprise, even favored putting the plan into operation at an earlier date than had been expected and, as was necessary, promised that the Reichstag would forthwith pass the legislation necessary to turn the railways over to Allied supervision. These German railroads, under the provisions of the Dawes Plan, are, it will be remembered, to become the basis for a mortgage in favor of the reparations account.

There were, outside the field of strict negotiations, many rumors of private agreements which would give to France the status of most favored nation in the matter of tariffs and provide for some combination of French coal and German iron. Such agreements may have been made and obviously are a logical corollary, but naturally they have found no place in official documents. On the other hand, the Germans did officially give promises of taking steps to reassure France in the matter of German armaments, while both countries assented in principle to an amnesty which would free practically all those arrested for overt acts against the French occupation or because of it. This in effect amounted to French consent to free Germans imprisoned because of resistance to the French occupation—a class of offenders who had, it may be mentioned, largely been liberated by Premier Herriot's earlier amnesty decree.

VI. HERRIOT GOES TO PARIS

It was perhaps inevitable that the matter of the evacuation of the Ruhr should provoke dissensions among the French and by the end of the first week of the second phase of the London Conference it was notorious that the French Premier was at odds with his Minister of War, General Nollet, who had headed the Allied Commission to disarm Germany. Unless this breach could be repaired it was plain that Herriot's position would be compromised, and as a consequence he undertook a journey to Paris at the week-end and laid his program before the full Cabinet and the President of the Republic. He also had a significant conference with Marshal Foch.

Oddly enough, it presently became known that Marshal Foch, so far from contributing to Herriot's embarrassment, had actually aided him by supporting the evacuation. The truth is that Foch, despite his reputation abroad as a militarist, has never looked with approval upon the Ruhr adventure. As a military man he has held the obviously accurate view that the situation of the occupying force, in case of German forcible resistance, would be terribly precarious, since they were thrust forward in a long salient, their lines of communication insecure and extended and also in part passing through the British zone.

To occupy the Rhine as a military frontier was the thesis of Foch at Paris, but he had no desire to go beyond the Rhine bridgeheads. For he was well aware that if the occupation continued indefinitely France might lose her occupying army in case of a German attack, just as Napoleon lost his large garrison armies all over Germany in 1813 and 1814 after Leipsic and during the last campaign in France, when the presence of these veterans might have saved his empire.

Herriot was able to restore unity in his cabinet and return to France ready to agree to French evacuation of the Ruhr, that evacuation to be completed early next year, and he was also empowered to waive the demand for the longer stay of the French and Belgian railway men. His hand in the matter of evacuation was strengthened by the British promise not to leave the Cologne sector, from which they would retire under the Treaty of Versailles early next year, unless Germany had in the meantime fully complied with the Dawes

program by the date when evacuation might take place.

This British retirement, were the French to stay in the Ruhr, would at once precipitate a crisis; for the French would either have to occupy the Cologne sector after the British went, as they did the Coblenz area when our American force retired, or else the Ruhr forces would be left "in the air." An extension of the occupied area would not only provoke Anglo-French tension, but would certainly embitter Franco-German relations and at the same time call for much larger French forces on the Rhine, which would be unpopular in France itself.

In effect MacDonald gave Herriot assurances that if France retired from the Ruhr, Britain would stay on the Rhine with France and Belgium until the Dawes Plan was in full operation. Since, moreover, it was French occupation which the Germans were seeking to terminate, not British, this proposal gave no offense to the Germans. In addition, there was at least the whisper of British concessions in the matter of the Anglo-French and other interallied indebtedness, promises of a new conference in Paris to discuss these when the Reparations matter was settled, which served a useful end for Herriot.

But looking at this London Conference in contrast to all others, the striking circumstance was the unmistakable evidence that the publics of all countries concerned were plainly more anxious to get results, to see a settlement made, than they were jealous of extreme national rights. Always MacDonald, Herriot and Stresemann, although freely bombarded from the rear, MacDonald to be sure much less seriously than his associates, despite the Lloyd George assault in the House of Commons, were conscious of the sustaining sentiment of both public feeling and solid business interest. Politically their situations might be precarious, but in the background was public opinion weary of delays and bickerings and anxious for results, so anxious for settlement as to be almost indifferent to details which in all previous international discussions they had regarded as vital. Thus at last the public men of Europe, after five years of paralysis due to popular passion, were able to face facts without too great fear of popular indignation.

As I close this article, Herriot has returned to London with the endorsement of the full French Cabinet, but having agreed that

the signature of France will not be binding when it is put after any London document until the French Parliament has had free opportunity to pass upon the decision therein embodied. This means, in practice, that the London agreements will have to be submitted to a parliamentary plebiscite in France. Yet this pledge does not in the mind of Paris observers give any real hint of rejection. Meantime, the Germans have undertaken to put the Dawes Plan into operation and what remains is the discussion of the modalities of evacuation.

When I came back from Europe last spring I told my readers here and elsewhere that the outstanding circumstance was the new spirit in Europe, a spirit which expressed itself in a desire to make an end of international debates and by compromise arrive at some settlement. The London Conference, like all else that has happened since, including the French election, has demonstrated this fact. Even the German election, which seemed an exception, has been interpreted by the Marx-Stresemann Cabinet as if it had been an endorsement of moderate, not extreme, nationalistic views. It is this state of mind, more than the considerable achievement already made at London, which leads me to believe that the still unfinished conference will in the end arrive at some adjustment.

VII. LOOKING FORWARD

And now, briefly, it is essential to look forward to what must follow if London is a success; for at best it is only a step. With reparations out of the way we have still to dispose of the problems of interallied debts and French and Belgian security, to which, in a sense, there is added the problem of German security; for it is manifest that French apprehensions of German aggressions based on the events of 1870 and 1914 have in a measure been balanced since the Ruhr by a real if unwarranted German conviction that it is the settled policy of France to prevent German recovery, detach German Rhineland and Ruhr regions, and expand the French frontier to the middle Rhine.

As to the question of interallied debts, London and Paris reports agree that in the British capital agreements have already been reached for a Paris meeting to follow closely upon the London Conference. This would be devoted to the discussion of debts, and

there is the firm, if perhaps unconfirmed, French belief that at such a conference the British will at the very last renew the offer of Bonar Law made in Paris nearly two years ago, amounting in effect to an agreement to the cancellation by Britain of all Continental obligations to her save that sum which, added to the German payments, would meet the annual payments Britain has undertaken to make to the United States to discharge its American debt.

Now it must be seen that despite the London acceptance of the Dawes Report, which I assume will take place, there still remains the very vital question of fixing the amount of German reparations, which was not done by the Dawes Commission because the matter was not referred to it. All that the commission had to decide was, how much Germany could pay annually, when her house had been put in order, how the payments could be made, and how the house could be put in order.

To settle the sum total of reparations it would be necessary to fix the number of years in which Germany would continue to pay that \$600,000,000 annually, which is the sum decided upon by the Dawes Committee. But it is obvious that in the making of this decision the Continental nations would be concerned with knowing their obligations to Britain. That is to say, the more Britain asked from them the more they would ask from Germany and the longer the payments under the Dawes schedule would continue.

Roughly speaking, the Continent owes Britain \$9,000,000,000, while Britain owes and is paying the United States \$4,000,000,000. The annual payment to the United States by the British is now around \$170,000,000 and will rise to a maximum of \$184,000,000 at the end of ten years: The British share of German reparations is 22 per cent. and this would mean about \$132,000,000 annually of the \$600,000,000 which is the Dawes figure for German payments. If the Bonar Law offer were to stand, then, on their Continental debts the British would ask from their Allies of the war an annual contribution of only \$50,000,000, instead of the \$400,000,000 which could be collected were the debts paid in full.

Since the British debt to the United States runs for something more than sixty years, one might assume the same sort of

arrangement between the British and their Continental debtors and, further, a similar period for the German reparations payments. On the *pro rata* basis, that is, in accordance with their respective shares of the total Continental debt to Britain the French would pay 30 per cent., the Russians 33 per cent., and the Italians 25 per cent. Reverting again to the Bonar Law offer, the French would pay 30 per cent. of the \$50,000,000 described above, or \$15,000,000 annually; the Italians \$12,500,000, and this would liquidate debts amounting, respectively, to \$2,700,000,000 and \$2,500,000,000. If in practice these nations turned over to the British that portion of their annual share in the German reparations payments, which would be the obvious solution, the basis of the adjustment proposed by Bonar Law is disclosed.

Of course the question at once arises, What would Britain gain by such concessions? Obviously her gain would be in two directions—the fixation of the sum of German reparations, which would close that phase of the discussion, and the general adjustment of European economic and fiscal conditions which would inure to the advantage of British commerce and contribute to the reduction of British unemployment. Would this be enough to satisfy the British? The real problem remains here, but one must remember that some portion of these concessions might be assumed to have been paid for by French yielding in the matter of reparations and Ruhr evacuation at London.

It is clear, moreover, that if Herriot does not obtain some such financial concession to balance his London surrenders his own political situation will be compromised, and neither MacDonald nor any section of the British public desires the return of Poincaré. Over and beyond this lies the possibility of French reasonableness in the matter of security and French consent alike to the admission of Germany into the League of Nations and to the transfer of the whole question of security to the League of Nations, a project already endorsed by Herriot publicly.

Of course there remains the problem of the European debts to the United States, which, save for the British, remain to be settled. We still maintain our determination to collect those debts in full, but it is worth recalling that, should we adhere to our policy, our claims would require all the

sums which Germany has been held by the Dawes Commission capable of paying annually. Thus in the end the whole thing would come down to an annual payment by Germany of \$600,000,000 and the transfer of this sum to us by the British, French, Italians and Belgians, leaving nothing for reparations, that is, for reconstruction.

One of the keys to British willingness to reduce Continental indebtedness has lain in the recognition that the Continental nations would never pay in full under any circumstances and even if they were willing, the British could never afford to take this annual tribute which could only be paid in goods. I cannot conceal my belief that in the end the United States will also have to consent to some scaling down. Meantime the single obstacle to the debt settlement, assuming Britain renews the Bonar Law proposal, will lie in the attitude of America. All things considered, however, it seems likely that the European powers will go ahead and make their own adjustments, which do not concern us since they only affect Inter-European debts, and leave the American phase for the future.

As I have said, beyond the Paris Conference now projected lies the September meeting of the League of Nations, with the assurance that both Herriot and MacDonald will attend and that the French will consent alike to the relegation to the League of the matter of security and armaments, above all for the maintenance of German disarmament, for discussion and, if possible, for solution. If no debt settlement can be made before the Geneva meeting, then the matters of security and armaments are likely to go over together with that of German admission. But the hope of progress at Geneva may have its influence upon MacDonald's attitude with respect of debts and it must be recognized that he

could not consent to such a discussion in the first place without being prepared to make concessions, since in the conference he will meet only debtors all united by common interest, because all are indebted to Britain and equally anxious to escape these chains. Italy, in particular, which played a quiescent rôle at London, is bound to take a prominent part, while the United States is likely to be absent for patent reasons. Yet what is decided there must have a very important bearing upon the future of our own claims upon the Continental States.

August, then, has seen the most considerable progress toward adjustment in Europe since the close of the Paris Conference. It has disclosed a different atmosphere in all the nations immediately concerned. It has revealed German representatives in a light in which they have not appeared since the war and, apart from promise of settlement of the reparations question, which is bright as I close these pages, it has opened horizons beyond and foreshadowed very important further progress both at Paris and at Geneva, where the United States will not be present. But at least in London our share has been very considerable and we have consented to a participation in European matters beyond anything during the present Republican Administration with only the happiest of results.

After all, the main reason Europe in general, and France and Germany in particular, have listened to the Dawes Plan is that it is American made, carries an American endorsement emphatically, if "unofficially," affirmed by Secretary Hughes during his strikingly timely excursion to London, Paris, Brussels and above all to Berlin. No one can fail to appreciate the services of Mr. Owen D. Young and Colonel James A. Logan at the conference itself.



ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

BY WILLIAM HARD

[This is the third and last of our series of articles on the presidential nominees, each one contributed by a sympathetic and well-informed writer. In the July number the reader will find a similar article on President Coolidge, and in the August issue one on Mr. Davis.—THE EDITOR]

I HAVE interviewed Mr. LaFollette, and I have written things about him, off and on, for more than twenty years. There have been three stages in the development of his character.

In the first stage he was a quite orthodox Republican, who went pretty regularly along with the established principles of the Republican party. He was for the tariff. He was for sound money. He incidentally has always continued to be for sound money. His radicalism is a radicalism not of populist or of Democratic derivation but of strictly Republican derivation. That point is a vital point of origin in any exploring and charting of Mr. LaFollette's character and temper.

A Conventional Republican at First

Mr. LaFollette was closely associated with the Republican tariff-maker William McKinley, afterwards President, at the time of the making of the McKinley bill in 1890. Was that bill the wicked bill which progressive tariff reformers have made it out to be? Mr. LaFollette wrote its agricultural schedule. He wrote its jute, hemp and flax schedule. He wrote its tobacco schedule. He helped to write its metal schedule. He now says regarding those days:

We accepted the facts and figures of the manufacturers as reliable. I think that at that time I did not seriously question this unscientific method of securing information as a basis for tariff legislation.

In other words, Mr. LaFollette was not born an attacker on everything.

He had a passion for personal independence, yes. He had a passion for personal honesty in government, yes. But he had no new strange economic philosophy and he had no new strange philosophy about the structure of government. His economic ideas and his governmental ideas were perfectly Republicanly conventional, and

since a belief in personal independence and in personal honesty can hardly be called unconventional, it can safely and exactly be said that at that time Mr. LaFollette was conventional throughout.

A Cherished Friendship for Senator Lodge

He was also quite gentle-tempered. He was not bitter. He was not harsh and suspicious. Nor has he ever been harsh and suspicious regarding his old associates of those old days. He does not think that Mark Hanna's interest in William McKinley was for the purpose of using William McKinley as a tool on behalf of "Big Business." On the contrary, he sweetly says: "I am convinced that the chief incentive behind Hanna's support of McKinley was the honest love he felt for his friend."

In 1922 I went into Massachusetts to report the United States senatorial election there. When I got back Mr. LaFollette, seeing me in a corridor of the Capitol, inquired:

"How is Lodge getting on for reelection?"

I said: "I think it is going to be close. There is a chance that Mr. Lodge may be defeated."

Foolishly, I expected Mr. LaFollette to give thanks to God that a great enemy of Progressivism might be about to fall. What Mr. LaFollette actually did was suddenly to look extremely sad, and then, almost with tears in his eyes, he said:

"Lodge's health is not too good. I'm afraid of what a defeat might do to him."

Mr. Lodge was with Mr. LaFollette in the House of Representatives thirty-six years ago. It is rumored that Mr. LaFollette calls him "Cabot" (calling him "Cabot" is said to be Mr. LaFollette's exclusive perquisite). At any rate, it suddenly became clear to me that Mr. Lodge could go ahead and be an enemy of

progressivism all he pleased without inciting Mr. LaFollette to go into Massachusetts and make speeches against him.

LaFollette's old orthodox Republican days were essentially pleasant days for him and his recollections of them and his surviving associations with the survivors of them are pleasant.

*Suffering Wrongs at the Hands of
"Orthodox" Politicians*

Then came the second period in his life—the period during which he acquired a nation-wide reputation for being austere, stern, suspicious, bitter, harsh, unforgiving, vindictive.

It began when the Republican leaders of Wisconsin stole delegates from him in the course of his efforts to secure the Republican nomination for Governor of Wisconsin. Throughout a considerable part of the decade of the nineties of the last century, Mr. LaFollette strove for that nomination. He would get delegates. He would go to the convention. He would be on the point of success. Then his delegates would be stolen from him.

Two things resulted:

In the first place, Mr. LaFollette had his first genuinely unorthodox idea. He decided that the whole convention system was intolerable and should be abolished. He decided that there ought to be direct primaries. In the end he installed them in Wisconsin. In the end he enormously promoted the installing of them elsewhere.

If the direct primary system is a plague and a scandal and a horror in the eyes of orthodox politicians, they may find a final drop of acid irony in the fact that one of the largest reasons why they now have to endure the direct primary system is that orthodox politicians stole delegates in Wisconsin conventions from Robert Marion LaFollette. Mr. LaFollette has had his revenge.

He did become also personally a bit revengeful. This was part of the second change that happened to him at that time. Politically he became a bit unorthodox. He began to go in for creating new institutions. Personally he began to be able to hate, or to seem to hate. He began also to be a lone wolf.

As Governor—A Man of Iron

Year after year he had fought alone to get his delegates to win the nomination for Governor. Year after year he had been

pounded and bruised and more or less left for dead. Then he would pick himself up and bleedingly stumble along some more until at last, against all expectations of the orthodox politicians, he bounded into the Governor's chair at Madison.

Arriving there, he was already a different LaFollette from the LaFollette who had been the friend of McKinley and to whom McKinley had offered Federal office.

The new LaFollette was a man of iron—of iron which had gone through a furnace and had come out with something done to the molecules of it that made it unmalleable, impenetrable, magnificent in strength, rather ugly sometimes in color.

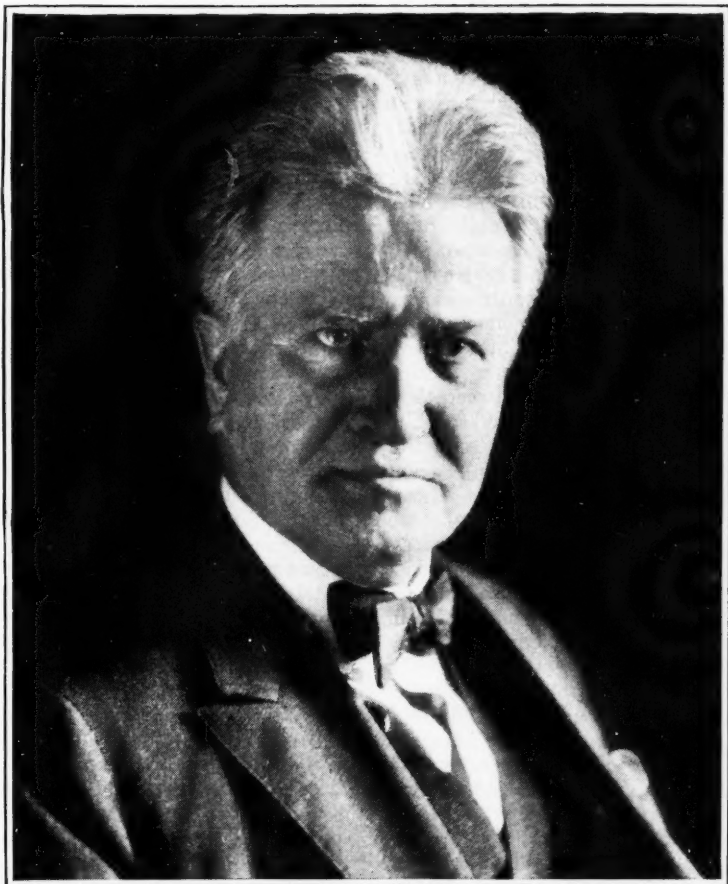
The new LaFollette was a knight in armor seeing dragons along every roadside and aspiring to slay them all with his own sword.

Two Bitter Episodes—1912 and 1917

The new LaFollette was the LaFollette, who many years later when Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania, who loved him, said to him, "Bob, what can I do for you?" could look at Penrose across the table and absurdly and magnificently say, "Nothing." This new LaFollette lasted down almost to the present moment. The iron in him went through to more furnaces. It went through the burning struggle of 1912, when Mr. LaFollette was put forward by the dominant progressives of the Republican party for the Republican nomination for President and when those progressives suddenly and almost unanimously shifted their support to Theodore Roosevelt.

It went through the third furnace when Mr. LaFollette opposed the entrance of the United States in the World War and when the teaching staff of his own University of Wisconsin, which, as Governor, he had fostered and nurtured and built up to its greatness, turned upon him and wanted all manner of punishment visited upon him for exercising the liberty which Daniel Webster exercised and which Abraham Lincoln exercised in opposing a war.

Mr. LaFollette in 1912 felt himself betrayed by friends. In 1917 he saw himself deserted by friends, denounced by friends, hounded and harried by friends. If no other public man in America in our times has been so savage, it can also be said that no other public man in America in our times has so suffered.



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SENATOR ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE, OF WISCONSIN, "PROGRESSIVE" CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY

A native of Wisconsin, Mr. LaFollette is sixty-nine years of age. He was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1870, was admitted to the bar and served as District Attorney of Dane County for four years. He represented the Third Wisconsin district in Congress for three terms, from 1885 to 1891. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, he took part in framing the McKinley tariff bill. Three times elected Governor of Wisconsin, he served during the years 1901-05, and resigned the Governorship to accept a seat in the United States Senate to which he was elected on January 25, 1905. He was reelected for three terms, 1910-29. As Governor of Wisconsin, he introduced direct primaries and brought about the taxation of railway property by the same system and at the same rate as other taxable property. He has been a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency since 1908. In the Senate he is chairman of the Committee on Manufactures and an important member of the Finance and Interstate Commerce Committees.

After All, a Man of Kindly Feelings

Mr. LaFollette, when one can find an unprotected joint in his armor, when one can lift the edge of his mask, is a man who wants friendship, who wants—one might even say—love. He is sentimental. He likes to hold the hand of a friend. He likes to put his arm about a friend's shoulder. When, after the war, a certain old friend of his who had never wished to see him during the war went up to his office in the Capitol and simply walked in and took his hand, Mr. LaFollette almost broke down. Like everybody else he is composed of contradictions and compensations. The very hardness of the shell which he built about himself seems to have made him all the tenderer within. Now, as he nears the end of his career, that tenderness is coming out rightly and frankly to the surface and has produced the third LaFollette—the present LaFollette.

Not a Socialist

The present LaFollette, it is true, does not abate one jot or tittle of the so-called advanced political principles and of the so-called advanced economic principles which his years of fierce fighting have put into him. On the contrary, in fact, he tends still to become more and more what is technically called "Progressive." He is willing now, for instance, to go along with people who are professedly in favor of government ownership of railroads. He is more and more devoted to notions about curbing the judiciary. He accordingly more and more—in certain quarters—is called a Socialist. It becomes, therefore, appropriate to remark that while Mr. LaFollette may perhaps well deserve that vague appellation "Radical," he does not in any way truly deserve the appellation "Socialist," which is a precise appellation and which ought to be used precisely. Nobody has a right to be called a "Socialist" if he believes that in the conduct of industry there is an eternal necessity and an eternal function for private capital. Mr. LaFollette believes there is, and the policies of the LaFollette Wisconsin State government prove it.

His Policies Would Promote Private Capital

LaFollette policies have dominated Wisconsin for approximately thirty years. During that whole time there has not been in the State of Wisconsin one single adventure into public ownership comparable to

the publicly owned Erie Canal in New York. In Wisconsin there have been numerous State commissions. A Wisconsin wag once remarked that in Wisconsin you had to have, first, a commission to find out if an evil existed, and then you had to have a commission to go and study the evil, and then you had to have a third commission to make a report on how to cure the evil, and then you had to have a fourth and final commission to operate the cure. All these commissions drew down upon the LaFollette régime in Wisconsin the quick accusation of "socialism."

It surely is manifest, however, that the mere creation of a new governmental commission or board or department or bureau does not constitute socialism. If it did, then President Coolidge's new Federal Department of Education, which he is advocating and promoting, would be socialism; and the Federal Reclamation Service, which goes out and builds dams and power houses and irrigation ditches, would be socialism. The determining point as to whether a thing is socialism is its ultimate effect on private capital and upon the activities and successes of private capital. The Reclamation Service exists in order to produce fields in which private farmers owning private farms can make private profits more abundantly. It therefore is not socialism. It is the use of government not to check but to promote private capital.

The commissions of the State of Wisconsin have not checked or supplanted private capital. Under the LaFollette régime private manufactures have increased more rapidly in Wisconsin than in the country as a whole. Under the LaFollette régime private farm income has gone up in Wisconsin much more rapidly than in the country as a whole.

A Believer in Private Enterprise

The true nature of economic LaFollettism can be comprehended in one characteristic illustration. The Wisconsin State government did not establish any State cheese factories. It did, however, establish State brands for cheese. These brands protected the consumer. They also contributed to help the producer. They guaranteed his product. They procured for him a better price. They did not tend toward impoverishing him. They enriched him. They helped to give Wisconsin cheese a premium price in the national market. To call a thing socialism

which produces more private wealth is surely—to say the least—an employment of loose language. State activity for private individual economic benefit, with private businesses preserved and promoted—that has been the heart of the Wisconsin governmental economic idea. It is an idea on all fours with the high tariff doctrine which Mr. LaFollette followed and operated when he helped to write the McKinley tariff bill. If it is radicalism, it is radicalism derived from Republicanism. It is radicalism which takes the Republican idea of governmental interference for certain interests and expands it to include the interest of the farmer and of the wage-earner.

To-day Mr. LaFollette begins to approach the idea of government ownership of railroads. This idea makes but a small appeal to this writer. Yet this writer is bound to note that government ownership of railroads existed in Romanoff Russia and in Hohenzollern Germany without leading any American politicians into ascribing socialism to the Czar or to the Kaiser. Mr. LaFollette, at the last pinch, when all other recourses had in his judgment failed, would be willing to embrace public ownership of public utilities. Public ownership of ordinary business—public ownership of agricultural enterprises, of manufacturing enterprises, of commercial enterprises—is a notion to which Mr. LaFollette has never given any slightest favor in principle.

Against Monopoly

The central fact in his economic philosophy is that he believes in private enterprise, in private competition, in private business freedom and struggle. He is utterly old-fashioned about it. He thinks that competitive private business should remain competitive, as it was, or as it is thought now to have been, in the old days. In wanting to curb the judiciary Mr. LaFollette goes back to the views of Thomas Jefferson, who held those same views just as firmly as Mr. LaFollette holds them. In wanting to curb all combinations and conspiracies in restraint of trade Mr. LaFollette goes back to the days before Mr. John D. Rockefeller made the Standard Oil trust. Mr. LaFollette believes in the good

old days. He believes in the good old concept of "the people." He wants to free the people, as he expresses it, from political machines which, as he thinks, thwart their will. He wants to free them from combinations and conspiracies which, as he thinks, thwart their freedom of action in business. He is not socialistically for putting the people into governmental regiments and drilling them. He is for, as he expresses it, freeing them and then for letting them work out their own individual salvations in their own individual way. That is the ultimate purpose of his policies, even after he may have adopted public ownership of those natural monopolies which are called public utilities.

Fair Weather at Last for a Venturous Seaman

This point of view he maintains, he presses, he agitates, as firmly and as vivaciously now as ever. Yet in the midst of doing so a certain new benignity is coming over him. Time has begun to deal more gently with him. After so many storms his ship is riding on waters where at least it is admitted by all that it is a gallant ship, a really seafaring ship, which has gone through more bad weather without sinking than any other ship of any one man's fortune in our whole history since its beginning. The battered decks are now getting a little bit repaired and scoured and polished. A little bunting gets thrown out to the breeze. There is tea occasionally in the captain's cabin. Newspaper reporters who disdained to interview the captain a few years ago stand in long lines at the door. The captain would indeed be more inhuman than even he ever was if this change in his circumstances did not slightly touch him.

It does touch him. The oldest LaFollette—the LaFollette who trusted McKinley—begins to come back. The bitter LaFollette—the LaFollette who thought the worst of everybody who turned from him to Roosevelt in 1912—begins to die down. And LaFollette to-day as he comes to his farthest fling as a radical, instead of becoming more acrimonious, happens by God's greatest mercy to him to be every day gentler, sweeter and more serene.

A NATION-WIDE MOVEMENT FOR RECREATION

BY PHILIP W. AYRES

(Forester of the Society for Protection of New Hampshire Forests)

WE ARE beginning at length to recognize that recreation is a major factor in education. It helps to make good citizens. Fair play and a square deal as developed in games and sports are among the ideals that we cherish as Americans.

Our ancestors, in their hard race to subdue the frontier, would have laughed could they have foreseen a people to whom vacations and excursions would be the only means of acquaintance with the great out-of-doors.

The majority of our people are now urban, which brings a wholly new group of pressing problems. Recreation with us is nationwide, but sporadic and irregular. In 400 American cities of 8000 or more people, there is no provision whatever for playgrounds, and many sections of our larger cities are worse off, having no country environment.

The Washington Conference

Recognizing the needs of the nation and the lack of coöperation among recreational agencies, both public and private, President Coolidge called a National Conference on Outdoor Recreation in Washington, in May. One hundred and nine national organizations responded, sending more than 300 delegates. In addressing the Conference he expressed the feeling that Federal leadership is necessary in order to bring into coöperation the various agencies, national, State, municipal and private, and expressed his desire that the Conference consider, among other important phases of the subject, the bearing of outdoor recreation on mental, physical, social and moral development, the preservation of wild life, and that the scenic resources and other major possibilities, including the forests, should be made fully available. He recommended a general survey of all recreational resources and the formulation of an educational program for outdoor recreation.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, presided over the Conference. He said that another fifty years will add another 50,000,000 to our people. Unless we plan and act with our eyes on the future, our people will not have the out-of-doors to which we are accustomed and which is so essential to Americanism. He appointed seventeen committees to formulate plans of action. These covered every phase of outdoor recreation and wild life preservation and were in nearly continuous session throughout three days.

The Conference proved a rally for conservation that would have warmed the heart of President Roosevelt himself. It was also a great educational meeting. Among the problems that received the more careful attention were the need of every human being for a chance at full, all-round development, the inadequate efforts to preserve wild life, the need to develop our parks and forests, national, State and local, to their fullest social use, and plans to extend recreational facilities.

Active Participants

Persons prominent in outdoor recreation were in attendance, including Cabinet officers and others high in the Government. Mr. Stephen T. Mather, Director of the National Park Service, and Colonel William B. Greeley, Chief of the Forest Service, represented their departments; Dr. John C. Merriam, president of the Carnegie institution, served as Chairman of the Committee on Federal Land Policy, including National Parks, Forests and the Public Domain. Mr. Robert Sterling Yard, secretary of the National Parks Association, outlined a plan for the more complete utilization of all our scenic and wild life resources. Mr. Charles Lathrop Pack presided over the Committee on State Parks and Forests. Miss Julia Lathrop, formerly director of the Federal Children's Bureau, was a delegate from the

National League of Women Voters. Senator Robert L. Owen and other members of Congress were present. Mr. Gray Silver represented the National Farm Bureau Federation. Professor Henry B. Hubbard, of Harvard University, spoke for the American Society of Landscape Architects. The Rev. Father Kilian was present from the Catholic Boys' Brigade. Mr. Frank A. Chase, who came from the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, presided over the Committee on Citizenship Values. J. Horace McFarland, President of the American Civic Association, spoke for the preservation of Niagara Falls.

It is difficult to select from the impressive list of persons and organizations. There were delegates from the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Appalachian Mountain Club, the Sierra Club, the Isaak Walton League, the American Association of Museums, the National Geographic Society, the American Playground and Recreation Association, the American Game Protective Association, the General Federation of

Women's Clubs, Student Health Association, American Red Cross and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Nearly every organization touches recreation somewhere, through education, public health, industrial efficiency, or through general economic and social welfare.

City Boys and Girls in the Country

Space permits reference to only a few subjects in the rich program. Major William A. Welch presented perhaps the shortest address, one long to be remembered. His work is typical of what the Conference desires to extend to all large cities. At the Interstate Palisades Park, opposite New York City and extending nearly fifty miles up the Hudson River, he directed the activities of 9,000,000 visitors last summer. He quoted the little girl who, on alighting

from a bus at one of the camps, saw a simple little daisy growing in a grass plot. She said, "Mum, look, look, them's the things we were making." She had never seen a live one before, except in the florist's window.

Major Welch quoted also the boy who, on arrival, looked at the trail in the woods, and at the water. "Shucks," he said, "there ain't no place to play here, there ain't no street." But when the end of that boy's two weeks came he was not in camp. He was searched for all night. The next day he was found. He knew that he could not

be sent back for two weeks more, and he worked that game for eight weeks!

Social workers search the cities of New York and vicinity to find people who will profit by a camping experience in the Interstate Park. Groups of girls' camps are found at one set of lakes, and of boys' camps at another. There are camps for mothers with little children, and camps for families. Two large steamers and a fleet of automobile busses bring the people at a minimum

fare; auto trucks, properly equipped, distribute hot food at cost prices from the central hotel. The rich and the poor are served the same food, differing only in cost of service. Physicians explain to campers the laws of health; naturalists explain the surrounding wild life. There is room for each camp to have a restful seclusion. With it all, the wild deer are returning within forty miles of New York. Major Welch says that hundreds of thousands of people in cities need a place to camp, not in the Rocky Mountains, because they have not time to go there. Their States should provide facilities. It is interesting in this connection that the State of Indiana and citizens of Chicago are cooperating to save the great sand dunes which extend for miles along Lake Michigan adjacent to that city.



HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT

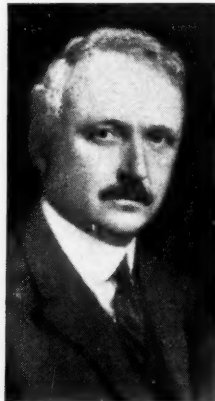
(Assistant Secretary of the Navy and Executive Chairman of the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation which met in Washington, May 22-24)



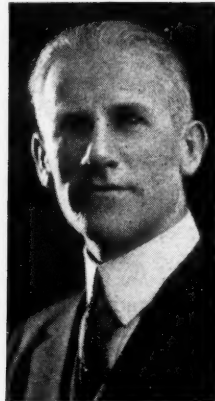
WILLIAM B. GREELEY
(Chief of the U. S. Forest
Service)



STEPHEN T. MATHER
(Director of the U. S.
Park Service)



ROBERT S. YARD
(Secretary, National Parks
Association)



CARL L. SCHRADER
(President, National Assn.
for Physical Education)

A GROUP OF REPRESENTATIVE MEN, IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Preservation of Wild Life

Dr. William T. Hornaday, Director of the New York Zoological Park, said that in thousands of localities, wild game has been slaughtered until practically extinct. Fourteen species of game have been killed off beyond the point of further sport in hunting, and several species have been exterminated. Every year in the United States at least 5,500,000 hunters go out to kill game, and the number of hunting licenses is increasing, by leaps and bounds, far beyond the increase in population. We have savagely sinned against the wild life of the nation and are now headed straight toward a devastated country, naked hills, forests of stumps, dry lakes, poisoned streams and hunting grounds destitute of game. If our game is to be saved, there is not a day to be lost.

A notable statement was that of William H. Dilg, of Oklahoma, president of the Isaak Walton League. We have drained in this country 75,000,000 acres of lowlands and marshlands, the home of water-fowl and all types of wild life. To-day our water-fowl perish along the courses of their flight. The remaining lowlands along the Mississippi River serve as a highway for migratory birds. These areas represent for the Mississippi Valley the last stand of wild life, and absolutely the last stand for warm-water game fishes, especially black bass. This great area contains miles and miles of spawning grounds, the greatest in North

America. Right now these lowlands are under the ominous threat of drainage.

National and State Parks and Forests

National Parks were defined by the Conference as museums of noble scenery and wild life to be held inviolate forever from all commercial exploitation. Covering 8,000,000 acres, they are none too large for the recreation and inspiration of those who come after us.

Our National Forests provide another magnificent recreational resource. Twenty times more extensive in area than the national parks, they cover vast areas of the Rocky Mountains, the Sierra Mountains and the Coast Range, including extensive stretches of primeval woods. A National Forest differs from a National Park in conserving its resources so as to insure their continuous productivity and use. We find in the National Forests extensive cutting of timber and reforestation, water-power development, and grazing of vast numbers of cattle and sheep under regulation. The National Forests also protect the water supply for many cities and towns.

National Forests and National Parks in common protect the headwaters of our rivers, and serve as refuges for plants and animals. Both conserve scenic beauty; both minister to the social and recreational welfare of the people.

The Conference stressed the need for further State and local parks and forests, to meet the ever growing demands of the



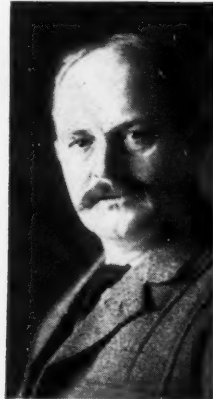
WM. T. HORNADAY
(Director of the New York
Zoological Park)



CHARLES SHELDON
(Who helped to organize
the conference)



DAN BEARD
(National Boy Scout
Commissioner)



FRANK M. CHAPMAN
(Curator of Birds, Am.
Museum of Nat. History)

LIFE, WHO ARE ACTIVE IN THE RECREATION MOVEMENT

country. Many States have made great progress, but there are still many important tasks. Maine has not yet acquired Mt. Katahdin, greatest mountain in New England; New Hampshire has not yet safeguarded her famous Profile, the Old Man of the Mountains; Florida should hold for coming generations an unspoiled section of the Everglades; the wild highlands of Southern Ohio are still in private ownership; the prairie States have not yet made safe a permanent example of the sweep of the prairie with its characteristic wild life; the sand dunes all along the Great Lakes will be needed for recreation as population increases in the Lake States.

The States should realize also the grave danger in the pollution of streams and coastal waters, not only from poisonous sewage, but also from factory discharges and oil waste, whereby rivers and even parts of the ocean become uninhabitable for aquatic life.

City Parks and Playgrounds

But the greatest need of all is for city parks, town forests, and adequate school playgrounds everywhere. To this end no school should be erected without its ample playground, and existing schools should have adjacent property condemned wherever necessary. "We must stamp out physical illiteracy," said Mr. Carl L. Schrader, president of the American Physical Education Association. "Democracy demands that all of the people shall be trained in recreation, as in all education."

The Conference effected the organization of a permanent National Council of Recreation, whose purpose is to survey the entire field, outline a practical policy, exchange knowledge of useful methods, recommend additional organization when necessary to fill important gaps, and bring into coöperation the several departments of the Government and private organizations. This Council will endeavor to promote acquaintance, serve as a source of inspiration, and develop an intelligent public opinion on recreation as a leading factor in a sound system of education and as a means of richer life for all the people.

A Program for the Whole Country

At the close of the Conference the Committee on Resolutions summed up the recommendations of all of the committees in a statement of principles that for depth and perspicacity and patriotic insight into the future needs of the country forms a Magna Charta of recreation. It contains among other declarations the following:

Outdoor recreation furnishes opportunity to gain abounding health, strength, wholesome enjoyment, understanding and love of nature, good fellowship and keen sportsmanship, and, above all, has a direct beneficial influence on the formation of sturdy character, by developing those qualities of self-control, endurance under hardship, reliance on self, and coöperation with others in team work which are so necessary to good citizenship.

The statement of principles recommends also:

Future National Parks should represent features



MR. CHAUNCEY J. HAMLIN, OF BUFFALO

(Elected chairman of the executive committee of the Conference on Outdoor Recreation, which will carry on the work of the conference. Mr. Hamlin is president of the American Association of Museums)

of national importance, as distinguished from those of local significance.

Changes in the Federal laws that will enable the Forest Service effectively to administer the wild life of the forest, and protect gems of scenery that may naturally fall within the forest.

A survey of recreational facilities on the remaining public domain.

Many State and local parks within easy access of the people. Every city and town should possess a wild park in which the native vegetation is absolutely protected.

State laws to uphold private owners in protecting such plants as dog-wood, mountain laurel and holly and other valuable native species.

More effective protection of birds, game and fur-bearing animals, further non-sale regulations, bag limits and licenses, more refuges and more provisions for propagation.

All sportsmen should coöperate with museums or other scientific institutions, in order to make the results of their hunting available, as far as possible, for study, research and permanent record.

Federal regulation should stop the interstate shipment and sale of black bass. Federal and State appropriations for fisheries work have not kept pace with the growing needs of the country.

Indiscriminate drainage is to be deplored as a source of conspicuous waste.

Adjacent countries should be asked to coöperate in protecting migratory wild fowl and insectivorous birds.

International athletic competitions are a means of promoting ideals of sportsmanship, mutual understanding and respect among nations.

Industries and mercantile establishments should provide additional facilities for organized games, and support municipal outdoor recreational facilities on a large scale.

Fifteen million rural children need all types of informal recreation and organized games which develop team-play, quickness and bodily skill.

Children and youths are helpless to determine their own environment, and have an inherent right to places in which to play. At least 10 per cent. of the area of a community should be regarded as a minimum for this purpose. In new city additions of ten acres or more, this provision should be made a condition of acceptance.

Average outdoor standards should be worked out for all children, based on thorough study. The minimum standards should be universally required.

Provision for training teachers and leaders in nature study and games should be made in the curricula of all normal schools and colleges. Recreational institutes, with traveling instructors, should be provided.

All citizens and their families should have opportunity, within reasonable distance, for adequate outdoor recreation.

Here is a program that affects all of the people throughout the country, in which everyone can help. It appeals to school committees and to teachers, to physicians and social workers, to village authorities and county commissioners, to city councils, State legislatures and Congress. It appeals to civic associations of every kind, to men's clubs and women's clubs, to Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, to hunters, fishermen and foresters, to hikers and campers and owners of automobiles, to artists and poets, to landscape architects, to the rich and to the poor, to the ignorant and to the educated, to the economists, and above all to scientists whose far-seeing vision pictures the earth before the advent of man. The man of science realizes that every species of life may prove of benefit to man. As Dr. Merriam pointed out to the Conference, it is of the utmost importance that as the wave of so-called civilizing influence sweeps across the world, laying in waste a large part of the great realm of our natural resources, we protect for future examination some of the marvelous wealth of the life of the world which the infinite wisdom of the Creator has prepared for us through hundreds of millions of years of evolution.





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MEMBERS OF THE THIRD EXPEDITION TO CLIMB MOUNT EVEREST, 29,000 FEET ABOVE SEA LEVEL, THE HIGHEST POINT ON EARTH

(In the front row, from left to right, are: Mr. Shebbeare, of the Indian Forest Service, the expedition's transport officer; Captain Geoffrey Bruce and Dr. T. Howard Somervell, veteran of the 1922 attempt; and Mr. Beetham. Standing, from left to right, are: A. C. Irvine, George H. Leigh-Mallory, Col. E. F. Norton, Mr. Odell, and Mr. Macdonald)

THE GODDESS-MOTHER OF THE MOUNTAINS

BY MAJOR F. YEATS-BROWN, O.F.C.

(Late of Indian Army)

FROM a material point of view the ascent of Mount Everest would be profitless, but the imagination is captured by the recent attempt to scale the highest point on earth, because the task is an adventure—a test of the powers of man against the powers of Nature.

Chomolunga — goddess-mother — as the Tibetans name Everest, is 29,000 feet high. It has been attacked by three expeditions since 1921, but always the climbing parties have been beaten back by storms and cold and physical exhaustion. During the 1922 expedition, seven Nepalese porters were killed in an avalanche on the terrible North Col. In June of this year, Mallory and Irvine, both in the prime of youth, have paid the penalty of their ambition to stand higher than men have ever stood before. But neither danger nor discomfort will deter others from following in their footsteps.

There is a lure in the great mountains: from the beginning of time, man has turned his eyes to the high hills.

As Pope Pius XI, himself a famous Alpinist, wrote recently to the Bishop of Annécý:

Of all the exercises which afford us a wholesome distraction, there is none more serviceable than mountaineering in promoting both health of body and vigor of mind. In his laborious efforts to attain the mountain tops, where the air is lighter and purer, the climber gains new strength of limb, while in the endeavor to overcome the various obstacles of the way, the soul trains itself to conquer the difficulties of duty; and the superb spectacle of the vast horizons from which the highest crests offer themselves on all sides to his eyes, raises without effort his spirits to the Author and Sovereign of Nature.

Previous to 1922 only one night was ever spent at an altitude of 23,000 feet; and up to that year the world's record for height was the Duke of the Abruzzi's 24,000 feet

on the Bride Peak in Cashmere. In 1922, however, Everest climbers slept in a camp at 25,000 feet and next day climbed to 27,250. On June 4, of this present year, Norton and Somervell reached 28,000 feet before having to turn back; and Mallory and Irvine were reported as "going strong" at this height, when they passed into a cloud and were lost to view. Nothing is known as to their fate, beyond the sad certainty that they perished, probably owing to exposure to cold.

Col. E. F. Norton, the leader of the Expedition (General Bruce, originally in command, having had to return owing to heart trouble), with his collaborators and co-mountaineers has written the story of the latest struggle with Everest in despatches to the *New York Times*. Between the lines we read of a love of adventure and a courage in adversity which has sent so many of the Anglo-Saxon race into the far and perilous places of the world.

Oxygen as an Aid

Two attempts were made without artificial means of breathing, while the climbers on the last and fatal attempt had the help of oxygen gas: an outfit weighing thirty-five pounds for each man. No doubt this added weight was a contributing cause of the disaster. The first non-oxygen attempt failed at a comparatively low altitude (25,000 feet, however!), because the stamina of the porters—who had to carry a small shelter tent and some provisions to a height of more than 26,000 feet—was not equal to

the task required of them. The second party, consisting of Colonel Norton and Dr. Somervell, also climbing without artificial aid, met with better fortune, although they did not reach their objective.

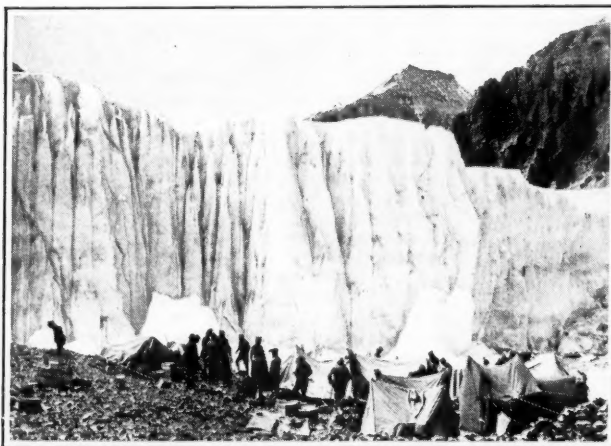
The porters stood staunchly by them, and they were able to pitch a tent in a rocky little basin on the ridge of Everest at a height of 26,700 feet. This was the sixth and last of a chain of camps built up the mountainside and was to be their "jumping-off" place for the summit, 2440 feet higher. "The situation," they wrote, "was far from ideal, but it seemed the best in the vicinity, and on Everest you have got to take what you can get and be thankful."

Next morning, at 6.45 A. M., they were panting and slipping on the scree-slopes of Everest, struggling out into the sunlight of the roof of the world.

Personnel of the Expedition

A few words may not be out of place here, as to the personality of the men. Dr. T. Howard Somervell is perhaps the most versatile member of the expedition. Not only is he a great mountaineer, but he is also a clever surgeon, a good painter, and an able musician, who recorded the strange music of skull-drums and thigh-bone trumpets played during the devil dances at Rongbuk Monastery, afterwards transcribing and orchestrating it so that it was reproduced in a London theater. Rumor has it that on his return from Tibet he will take up work with a medical mission in Southern India. He is still in his twenties.

Colonel Norton, who has a distinguished career as an artillery officer before him as well as behind him, is also famous in India as a daring horseman and a great hunter of the wild boar. During the 1922 expedition he was so badly frost-bitten that he had to ride the whole way back to India on the return journey. Undeterred, however, he volunteered to go again this year and now holds the distinction, with Somervell, of having reached to within 350 yards of the summit of the earth.



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THE SECOND DEPOT ESTABLISHED BY THE MOUNT EVEREST EXPEDITION, 19,500 FEET HIGH, ON THE EASTERN GLACIER

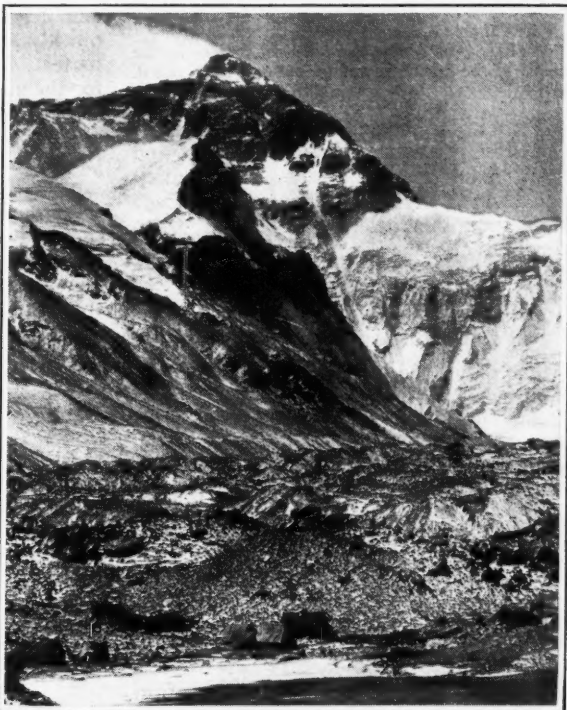
George H. Leigh-Mallory, the veteran of the mountain, who had accompanied all three expeditions as one of the best high climbers in the world, was a teacher by profession and had a gift of terse and lucid English which makes his contributions to the knowledge of mountaineering—both in articles and lectures in the United States and England—of permanent value to the expert and of exceptional charm to the general public. As a mountaineer he was surpassed by none, and his name will go down to history as a great explorer.

Of Irvine, General Bruce, before he returned to England, wrote that he was the "experiment" of the expedition. "His record at Spitzbergen last year and his really remarkable physique, to say nothing of his reputation as a general handy man, justify the experiment we are making in exposing one of his tender years to the rigors of Tibetan travel." Irvine, however, soon proved that he was no untried boy, but one of the most valuable members of the expedition. Physically, he was the strongest; and his unselfish, unremitting work endeared him to all.

Ten Breaths for Each Step

Soon the altitude began to tell severely on the two climbers, Somervell and Norton, who were attempting to ascend without the aid of oxygen. "At about 27,500 feet," writes Dr. Somervell, "there was an almost sudden change. A little lower down we could walk comfortably, taking three or four breaths for each step, but now seven, eight, or ten complete respirations were necessary for every single step forward. Even at this slow rate of progress we had to indulge in a rest for a minute or two at every twenty or thirty yards. In fact, we were getting to the limit of our endurance."

At a level somewhere about 28,000 feet Somervell told Norton he could only hinder Norton's own chance of reaching the summit if he tried to go any farther, as an intensely sore throat added to his misery.



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THE BASE CAMP OF THE EXPEDITION, AT A HEIGHT OF 16,500 FEET

(Not much more than half-way up to the crest of Mount Everest, 29,000 feet high, this camp is nevertheless itself higher than the summit of Mount Blanc, the highest peak in the Alps)

He suggested that Norton should climb the mountain, if he could, by himself, and settled down on a sunny ledge to watch him.

But Norton was not far from the end of his tether. From my seat I watched him slowly rise—but how slowly!—and after an hour I doubt whether he had risen eight feet above my level. He realized that a successful issue to the fight was impossible and after a little returned. We agreed reluctantly that the game was up.

So, with our heavy hearts beating over 180 to the minute, we retraced our steps, but slowly, for even a downhill movement at this level is rather hard and breathless work and both of us required frequent rests for regaining our breath and resummoning our energy.

The view from the topmost point that we reached and indeed all the way up, was quite beyond words for its extent and magnificence. Gyachung and Chouys, among the highest mountains of the world, were more than 1000 feet beneath us. Around them we saw a perfect sea of fine peaks, all giants among mountains, all as dwarfs below us.

The splendid dome of Pumori, the finest of Everest's satellites, was but an incident in the vast array of peak upon peak. Over the plain of Tibet, a distant range gleamed 200 miles away. The view, indeed, was indescribable, and one simply seemed

to be above everything in the world and to have a glimpse almost of a god's view of things. . . .

We have been beaten in a fair fight (beaten by the height of the mountain and by our own shortness of breath) but the fight was worth it.

That is Dr. Somervell's summing up of the attempt, written before the final and fatal assault made on June 8 by Mallory and Irvine. . . . Ten breaths to every single step, snow blindness, swollen throat when the lungs cried for air, hearts beating 180 to the minute and failure at the end of all—yet how good a failure!

The Final, and Fatal, Attempt

The only hope of conquest of the mountain, this year, now lay with Mallory and Irvine, using the oxygen apparatus. On the morning of June 6 these two, with eight porters, started for camp 5 and slept the night there. The next night they passed at the high camp, No. 6, and made their assault on the summit on June 8.

A brief note reached Norton, by the hand of a returning porter, to the effect that Captain Noel, with the motion picture outfit, should be on the lookout for them at the base of the final pyramid (some 650 feet below the summit of the mountain) at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 8th.

Their hopes, therefore, were high. All had gone well. Porters who saw them

climbing reported they were moving quickly and confidently. The weather was perfect, fairly clear and not unduly cold for the altitude.

At a quarter of one o'clock, on the afternoon of June 8, the entire summit of the ridge and the final peak of Everest were unveiled to the watchers below. And on a small snow crest, by the base of the final pyramid, two black spots could be clearly descried. One black spot approached a rockstep and shortly emerged on top. Then the second did likewise. They were Mallory and Irvine, climbing, as was evident, with considerable alacrity.

Had they started from their high camp at the time Mallory had determined, they should have reached this rockstep several hours earlier than they did. Some delay had obviously occurred, but nothing serious enough to interfere with the possibility of success. From their position, they had none too many hours of daylight left, but just sufficient time, if nothing untoward happened, to reach the summit and return to the high camp before nightfall.

What happened after they passed into the cloud and vanished from the land of the living? Either they slipped and fell, encumbered as they were with the heavy oxygen apparatus, or they encountered such difficulties that they failed to return to camp before dark.

With a temperature of fifty or more degrees below zero, Fahrenheit, and the awful winds of Everest that tear the snow off the mountain flanks a thousand feet up into the outer atmosphere of the earth, what chance had they of survival, shelterless, on those wind-swept wastes?

Odell, the last European to see them alive, conjectures that they did actually reach the summit of Mount Everest, and he is of opinion that on the return journey they failed to find their inconspicuous little tent at 27,500 feet in the gathering darkness. If this be so, they would have sought some recess in the rocks to protect themselves from the storms that sweep continually across the mountain, and death would have stolen on them, gently, remorselessly.

Perhaps future explorers will discover the fate of these brave men who sought the heights and found the Valley of the Shadow. At present we only know they made a gallant attempt to do a very hard thing and that by their deaths they have proved once more that the spirit of man knows no defeat.



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MR. IRVINE, ONE OF THE TWO WHO LOST THEIR LIVES

(Irvine was a skilled mechanic, and he is here shown mending an oxygen outfit)

AN AMERICAN ECONOMIST IN GERMANY

BY JEREMIAH W. JENKS, PH.D., LL.D.

(Research Professor of Government and Public Administration, New York University; Member of International Conference of Experts Invited by the German Government to Report upon the Stabilization of the Mark, in 1922)

LAST fall and winter (1923-24) it was my good fortune to spend several months in Germany, my stay being broken at intervals by visits to other countries. While in Germany I had the opportunity of meeting frequently and informally many of the leaders of the different political parties, bankers, business men, public officials, resident Americans, Germans and foreigners engaged in relief work. In recounting, therefore, the result of my observations, I have kept in mind the fact that many of the people who furnished my information were prejudiced, as was of course natural; and in drawing conclusions, I have endeavored to make allowances for that fact. However, inasmuch as some of my informers were prejudiced in one direction and others in another, some being even emphatically anti-German, I trust that the conclusions reached are reasonably fair.

The Trade of Money "Bootleggers"

I reached Germany shortly after the middle of October. Between the date of my arrival and the first of December, came the most precipitous fall in the value of the mark; but before I left in the middle of December, the actual stabilization of its value had started with the introduction of the rentmark. So many accounts have been given of the monetary catastrophe that I need not dwell upon that. Suffice it to say that at the worst period bills were rendered daily, particularly in the hotels. The fluctuation was so great that sometimes my hotel bills reckoned in gold would vary in the actual payment by almost 50 per cent. either up or down, within two days. A return trip from Hamburg to Berlin cost more than double the trip to Hamburg as expressed in gold values, although the nominal mark price remained the same and my stay in Hamburg had been only two days.

It made a great deal of difference, too, whether one cashed his American letter of credit at the bank or whether he took American bills and bought marks from the money "bootleggers," as they were generally called. At a time when the bank was paying four trillion, two hundred billion marks to the dollar, the "bootlegger" paid sometimes seven and one-half or eight trillions. In one rare case an acquaintance of mine secured nine trillions, more than double the official rate. Of course, such wild fluctuations meant a complete demoralization of business, a speculative inflation of prices, a feverish attempt to purchase something of lasting value immediately on receipt of the paper money, instead of holding it for use another day.

With the advent of the rentmark, which was received immediately at its gold value, the prices of provisions and ordinary living supplies fell from 20 to 30 per cent., sometimes even more, within a week. In many of the shop windows appeared signs stating that a discount of 10 per cent., 20 per cent. or more would be given for payment in valuable money (*werthbeständiges geld*). One noted immediately the change in the mental attitude of nearly all of the people of all classes. I left Berlin about the tenth of December, came home, and then returned to Germany early in February. I noticed at once the change of expression of the waiters and chamber maids in the hotel. When I asked them how things were going, all said, "Much better. We can save a little something now. Our wages buy more." The bankers and business men said, "If we can maintain the stability of the rentmark until we get our new gold system started, we shall recover." The attitude of extreme pessimism shown at the time men were saying, "We cannot last more than a week or two longer

before chaos will come," had been changed to optimism.

Threat of Revolution

At the climax of the crisis (in October and November, 1923) the suffering among the poor, hundreds of thousands, even millions, of whom had been thrown out of work by the closing of factories, had led to many bread riots and there was grave fear of a revolutionary uprising. This feeling became so strong that it was known that some of the legations had notified their employees to make themselves ready for immediate departure in case of revolution. Others, having more confidence in the strength of the government and its ability to maintain order, did not take quite the same precautions, but still they notified their nationals that if any outbreak should occur they would be protected.

At about the worst of the crisis I had a talk one morning with Hugo Stinnes, who knew the industrial situation perhaps as well as anyone in Germany. He had been asking me earlier about the possibility of foreign credits for German industries, a temporary supply of credit for the purchase of raw materials, cotton, copper, coal, and other material absolutely essential for the opening of factories. I asked him if private property was safe in Germany or if the Communists might seize properties given as pledges for loans. He assured me that the Government had the situation well under control, so that with the possible exception of three states (Saxony, Thüringen, and Braunschweig, where the Communists were especially strong) private property was entirely safe. That same day President Ebert and Chancellor Stresemann told me that they had the situation well in hand. As the President said, "Our army is small but it is thoroughly trained, efficient, and entirely loyal to the Government. There will be, of course, small outbreaks of disorder, bread riots here and there, but we have the situation in hand. There will be no dangerous revolution." When one considers that this statement was made within a week of the Ludendorff "putsch" in Munich, which ended as a mere farcical attempt, greatly to the discredit of Ludendorff and his followers, one sees that the Government actually controlled the situation.

There were no illusions about the conditions and few differences of opinion. The fall of the mark and the drainage of capital,

partly from the fall of the mark, partly from the payment of reparations, partly from the attempt of those with property to save it by sending it abroad, had necessitated the closing of factories and caused great suffering. And why had capital disappeared and the mark fallen? Very naturally, in order to protect themselves, many owners of factories and other productive establishments had taken pains to get new machinery, to put their establishments into first-class condition for production, instead of declaring profits that could be seized by the Government or by the Government's creditors.

The Export of Capital

Aside from that, it was natural that people with credits abroad or people acquiring credits abroad through exports should in many cases leave the credits abroad where they would be safe, instead of bringing them home where they would surely disappear.

And again, the fall of the mark in itself caused an export of capital. When the mark fell, in many cases, literally thousands of foreigners and German speculators bought large quantities of goods before the prices could advance correspondingly, and exported them. A repurchase could not be made for the replacement of stocks except at a much higher gold rate. Large paper profits were in many cases made which on the books showed rapidly increasing wealth until one attempted to transfer the properties into gold values, when the losses promptly appeared.

Breakdown of the Taxing Power

Why did the mark fall and why did the Government continue printing paper money? Mainly for the same reason that obtains and has obtained for generations in all countries under similar conditions. The taxing power was not working efficiently; could not work efficiently when taxes levied in marks of one value were collected in those of less value. The Government had bills to meet. It must buy supplies. It must pay salaries. It must pay wages to the workmen. It must give public relief when people were starving. When it could not raise sufficient taxes, it could issue more paper money; and although each mark within a week might be worth only 75 per cent. of what it was worth the previous week, still three-

fourths of a loaf is better than none, and the same argument applies to one-half, one-quarter, 10 per cent., 1 per cent., and a fraction of 1 per cent. And so with the rapid decrease in value of the mark came rapidly increasing quantities, until the printing press was unable to keep up with the rate of depreciation and paper was still circulating as money when it was not worth in purchasing power, in many instances, the paper on which it was printed. The paper cost the consumers nothing, and that with the printing on it would buy them something. The loss was the loss of the Government and the loss of the people.

How Politics Affected the Situation

This is the bad side, but it is not all of the bad side. At this most critical time the different political parties were playing politics, each to get an advantage over the others. One might have thought that in such an emergency partisanship would disappear and the able men of all parties unite to seek a remedy. Political parties in Germany since the revolution of 1918 have been hardly comparable with our political parties here. The revolution had put the Socialists and Communists in power for a time. The non-propertied classes were in the saddle and were riding, their opponents felt, at the expense of the propertied classes. Moreover, the property owners felt that the politicians were riding most unintelligently even for their own sakes. In consequence, the feeling on both sides was one practically of desperation. The leaders of the revolution felt that they were fighting for liberty. Their own salvation was at stake. The proletariat must control; hence the short labor day, improved working conditions, regulations to increase wages, light taxation on those with small incomes, and drastic measures to take as much as possible from the well-to-do. And on the other side, the property owners tried to protect themselves against what seemed plunder. So the political fight was, after all, in the feeling of many, a fight for existence, certainly a fight for what most men hold dear, not a mere fight for offices.

But there is a good side. The Germans are an intelligent people. They are a reading people. They can think and reason. It was becoming evident that the rule of the working classes had been driven to extremes. Although there had been a large element of the extremists that at the beginning

seemed to be leaning strongly toward Bolshevism, the experiences of Russia and their own experiences changed the sentiments, so that the Bolshevistic element is now a small minority. A good many of the leaders of the workmen came to the conclusion that after all they needed the leadership and support, in part, of those who were their employers, of those who had the capital, and that something more nearly like the old order would bring better results not only for the country but for themselves than they had earlier thought. In consequence, there was a series of compromises. The extreme Nationalists and the extreme Socialists and Communists were both losing ground in favor of the middle parties.

Success of the Rentmark

Months before the great collapse of the mark, the trend of things was seen by Germany's able financiers, and measures were put forward to bring about a suitable currency. The stock of gold that in 1922 would have sufficed to stabilize the currency on a gold basis, had France acting through the Reparations Commission permitted, had been half exhausted, and the risk was too great to attempt a gold stabilization without the approval of the Reparations Commission. Could other means be found? Some of Germany's ablest men, anticipating a gold bank, put forward the idea of a rent bank based on a small mortgage of 4 per cent. on all productive lands and industry. The new notes could not be redeemed in gold but could be redeemed in 5 per cent. mortgage bonds, which apparently would be secure in the long run. Most important of all, this measure could get the support of a majority in Parliament and would have the support of the agriculturists, who would sell their grain for such money when they would not sell it for the old money. So the rentmark was put forward as a temporary measure to bring in the harvest to feed the people, in the hope that a better system could be secured before this would collapse.

The new measure worked astonishingly well. It is quite possible that an important factor in its success was the memory of the desperate conditions of the few months immediately preceding. The rentmark came in the nick of time. Could it have come three months earlier, it would have prevented the great collapse; three months later, in the opinion of most Germans, would have been too late. A revolutionary

uprising of the starving would have swept the country, many believe. It is practically certain that even though the Government could have controlled the situation finally, there would have been violent attempts at revolution which would have caused much bloodshed.

Reduction of Government Expenditures

But the Government took other very severe though necessary and wise measures. The Finance Minister told me that his hand trembled as he signed some of the decrees, knowing the suffering they must entail. "But," he said, "it is the *only* way out." If they were to escape from complete collapse they must balance their budget; so the new Government cut its expenses drastically. It declared it would make no effort to pay further reparations. It would discharge 25 per cent. of all of its employees. It would cut the salaries of all the officials from top to bottom down to the cost of living, and below any reasonable cost of living. Cabinet ministers received in the neighborhood of twelve hundred dollars a year, and many of the subordinates received so little that they and their families, if they could live, could live only with less than proper nourishment. In the new budget about 20 per cent. was allowed to provide for the needs of the unemployed. On the other hand, the new taxes were very greatly increased. The methods of collection were improved and the payments had to be made on a gold basis. This measure came also just in the nick of time, and it worked better even than had been anticipated.

The Dawes Report Points the Way

The solution of Germany's ills, if it comes, will be the adoption of the report of the Dawes Committee and the faithful working out of those measures by Germany and her creditors. But to Germany's credit be it said, in connection with very many things that can be said to her discredit, that before the Dawes Committee was created she had stabilized her currency herself, and she had made arrangements for balancing her budget that bid fair also to attain the end.

And I think Germany will accept the Dawes report and will work faithfully to carry out its provisions. What else is there for her to do? Anything else means chaos. That might please the Russian Bolsheviks. That might please the few

extreme Communists who believe that salvation can come only through destruction; but the great mass of the German people, members of all parties, are not of that type. There are a few, too, of the extreme Right, the militaristic monarchists, who believe that salvation can come only from military power exercised by themselves; but they are also relatively few. The majority even of those who believe that Germany would be better off under a monarchy do not believe that the monarchy is practicable now.

Most of the more intelligent Germans believe that it will not be possible to carry out all of the provisions of the report. In that direction, however, a beginning can be made. If the report is worked out by the Germans themselves primarily, although under the careful inspection of the representatives of the creditor countries, experience will prove just how much is practicable and just what changes are needed.

The Spirit of Fair Play

One of the prime characteristics of the report is that it admits of more or less experiment and greater or minor modifications to meet actual needs. In the course of the discussions in the Dawes Committee itself, there was much toning down of harsh expressions and drastic processes that would unduly irritate and, in consequence, lessen the efficiency of the German efforts, while at the same time great care was taken to check at their beginning any efforts that might be made for deception or false representations or fraudulent evasions. Speaking generally, the Germans played fair with the Dawes Committee, and the Dawes Committee played fair with them. It is evident to any unbiased observer that the way out—and the only way out—is that this spirit of fair play be continued on the side both of Germany and of the Allies, and there is every reason to believe that it will continue. This spirit is largely due to American influence as exerted through the Dawes Committee and through our Government. It is to be hoped and expected that American financiers and the American people back of our Government will continue this spirit of fair play and the desire to help all of the countries of Europe and of the world by hearty coöperation in making this movement toward the rehabilitation of Germany and the consequent payment of reparations a success.

THE SOVIET STRUCTURE IN RUSSIA

BY WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THE former Russian Empire has been so completely transformed by the revolution that practically none of the old political and economic landmarks remain. An entirely new governmental structure has grown up, different in some respects from anything that has ever before existed.

The important change that may be noted first in surveying the effects of the revolution is that the old Russia, as a unified political entity, no longer exists. In its place is a federative state known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. This union has four main constituent units: the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, Ukraina, Transcaucasia, and White Russia.

The first of these units includes most of European Russia and all Siberia and has a population of approximately 100,000,000. Besides Russia proper the Federative Soviet Republic includes ten autonomous affiliated republics and eleven autonomous regions. The republics are the Bashkir, Tartar, Kirghiz, Gorsk, Daghestan, Turkestan, Crimea, Yakut, Karelian, and Buriat-Mongolian. They have been set up for the purpose of satisfying the nationalist feelings of some of the many non-Russian peoples who are gradually included within the frontiers of the former Czarist empire by the processes of conquest and annexation. The autonomous regions have been established for the same reason, and are chiefly distinguished from the republics because the small size or low cultural level of the peoples affected makes it inexpedient to grant them the wide range of cultural autonomy which is enjoyed by the republics.

The three other main units of the Soviet Union are less complicated in structure. Transcaucasia, with a population of 5,684,000, includes the three little republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaidjan. The racial strains in the Caucasus region are extraordinarily mixed, and the Georgian

Republic includes two autonomous republics, Abkhasia and Adjaristan, and one autonomous region, Southern Ossetia. The other main units of the Union are Ukraina, which includes the fertile agricultural provinces of southern Russia and has a population of 26,000,000, and White Russia, a relatively small area around Minsk with a population of 1,634,000. The former Central Asiatic khanates of Bokhara and Khiva are also included within the Soviet Union in the form of People's Soviet Republics.

Many Tongues and Races

The explanation for the federal form of the new Russian state is to be found in the extraordinary diversity of races within the old empire. The Russians constitute only a little more than 50 per cent. of the whole population of the Soviet Union. They are concentrated largely in a dozen provinces in the immediate vicinity of Moscow. From this center the streams of Russian conquest and colonization flow out through the non-Russian regions, generally following the railroad lines and the rivers.

Leaving Moscow and traveling in almost any direction, one is certain to reach the Russian racial frontier much sooner than one reaches the political frontier of the Soviet Union. To the west are the White Russians. To the south are the Ukrainians. Traveling east and following the course of the River Volga, one encounters the Tartars, Chuvashes, and Marinsk—oriental tribes of Mohammedan or pagan faith. Further east, in the steppe-lands where Europe merges into Asia, are the nomadic Bashkirs and Kirghiz. In Turkestan, where irrigation has made possible the existence of rich cotton plantations and fruit gardens in the midst of a desert country, a small number of Russian colonists can be found mingled with a primitive native population.

The Caucasus is a veritable Tower of Babel, so far as confusion of tongues and

racism is concerned. Etymologists distinguish a hundred distinct languages and dialects that are spoken in this mountainous region, which serves as a sort of bridge connecting Europe and Asia.

A New Era for Non-Russian Peoples

The presence of all these peoples, varying widely in race, religion, and cultural development, within the boundaries of a single state has always created for Russia a national problem of the utmost delicacy and difficulty. The Czarist government sought to solve this problem in the crudest and most obvious way, by forcibly Russifying the non-Russian peoples. The use of native languages was discouraged and, in some cases, actually forbidden. Russian was the only language recognized in the schools, in the courts, in all official business. Nationalists were looked on with suspicion, banished and imprisoned upon slight provocation.

Naturally, all this repression simply strengthened the national sentiments which it was designed to root out. Racial consciousness grew in the face of persecution; and the discontent of the subjugated minor nationalities was a powerful contributory factor in the Czarist break-up.

The policy of the Soviet government toward the minor nationalities has directly reversed that of its predecessor. The individualities of the non-Russian peoples are encouraged to develop, instead of being repressed. Even a casual traveler through the Soviet Union soon comes into contact with the new spirit. In the autonomous republics the signs on streets and public buildings are printed in two languages, native and Russian. In regions where the majority of the population is Mohammedan, Friday is observed as the official day of rest instead of Sunday. These are only the superficial manifestations of more solid and important changes. The Ukrainians, the Armenians, the Tartars, and all the minor nationalities are now able to carry on their schools and courts and other public institutions in their own languages. The high administrative posts in the autonomous republics are no longer monopolized by Russians. One finds Russians serving in advisory and technical capacities, especially in the more backward of the republics; but even now the highest positions are almost always filled by natives and the tendency is to replace the Russians with natives as fast as the latter can be trained and educated.

The Governmental Structure

The constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—which was adopted at the All-Russian Soviet Congress late in December, 1922, and finally ratified with certain amendments at the session of the Congress Executive Committee in July, 1923—defines the respective rights and power of the individual republics and of the central Union government. Control of such matters as war, foreign affairs, finance, and industry is vested in the central government. On the other hand, the republics are given the right to regulate for themselves such questions as education, health, and social welfare; and they are assured full legislative autonomy in purely local affairs.

The Constitution of the Soviet Union provides for a bicameral legislative system which, in its principle of arrangement, somewhat resembles the House of Representatives and the Senate in the United States. There is an All-Union Soviet Congress, whose members are elected annually on a basis of population. And there is a second chamber, known as the House of Nationalities, to which each republic, irrespective of size and population, is entitled to send five representatives. Each autonomous region has one representative in the House of Nationalities. All legislation requires the consent of both these chambers, and the constitution prescribes an elaborate process of conciliations and agreement in case the two chambers should fail to agree.

How the Communists Rule

As a matter of fact, however, the control of the whole machinery of government in the Soviet Union by the Communist Party—an organization with a highly centralized leadership—makes disagreement between the two houses practically impossible, at least under present conditions. The Communist dictatorship also has the effect of making negatory the constitutional assurance that each republic has the right to secede from the Union. Each of the autonomous republics, like Russia proper, has a Communist government, which is controlled not by the voters but by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. None of these local Communist governments would conceivably initiate a movement in opposition to the policy of the Central Committee, and consequently any attempt at secession would have to assume the form of a revolt against

the Communist government. The central Union government would certainly not remain neutral or inactive in such a case.

The Soviet regime has not brought to the autonomous republics any sweeping measure of political and economic self-determination. Both in constitutional theory and still more decisively in actual practice the central Union government reserves for itself the right to formulate decisions in important matters of political and economic policy. On the other hand, the new federal Constitution has unmistakably had the effect of permitting the many smaller nationalities within the frontiers of the Union to develop along their own cultural lines without arbitrary Russian interference. By eliminating the old factors of racial discrimination and oppression it has done much to reduce the sum of racial hatred.

In the Soviet Union, as in other countries, there is a conspicuous divergence between the written constitution and the realities of political practice. No American State or municipal constitution makes any provision for the figure commonly known as "the boss"; but his extra-constitutional influence is often extremely potent in legislative matters. In the same way the Soviet Constitutions of Russia and the other republics in the Union never refer to the Communist Party; but any description of the present Russian political and economic structure that did not give a prominent place to the party and its activities would be meaningless.

The Soviet, or Council of Workers

The main outlines of the Russian political framework were shaped in 1917 and 1918, in the high tide of social revolution. In form the system functions somewhat as follows: All legislative and executive power is supposed to be vested in councils, or Soviets, which are elected along occupational lines—by workers in their factories or offices, by soldiers in their regiments, by peasants in their villages. Certain classes in the population, such as traders and employers of hired labor, were excluded from voting in the Soviet elections and from holding office in the Soviets. The idea was to make the Soviets representative only of the working-class elements in the population.

A number of village, factory, or office Soviets combine to send delegates to a township Soviet in the country districts or to a ward Soviet in the cities. By repeating the same process through two or three higher

grades we arrive at the highest legislative and executive authority, the All-Union Soviet Congress. Delegates to this body are apportioned on a population basis, one to every 25,000 city-dwellers and to every 125,000 inhabitants of the country districts.

The Union Soviet Congress meets once a year, usually in December or January. It elects a Vtsik, or Central Executive Committee, a body of 371 members, which is empowered to carry on the work of the Congress after the latter has adjourned. The Vtsik, in turn, elects the Council of People's Commissars, or cabinet. The Vtsik is only convened for short sessions two or three times a year, and in the interims its authority is delegated to a still smaller body known as the Praesidium.

A Party Without Opposition

So much for the theory of the Soviet political structure. In practice all these regulations are profoundly affected by the fact that the Communist Party, an organization which at present includes 400,000 members and 200,000 candidates (or applicants for membership who are passing through a period of probation), enjoys a monopoly of political power in Russia. "We are the only legal political party in Russia," said Zinoviev, president of the Leningrad Soviet, in a recent speech.

The elections to the Soviets are carried out under conditions which make anything like a free choice of candidates impossible. The Communist group in the factory, office, or government institution submits a prepared list of names, mostly Communists, with a few non-partisans. This list is accepted almost automatically, since organized opposition, as indicated by Zinoviev's statement, would not be tolerated. No non-Communist political papers can be published and no anti-Communist political party is permitted to function.

Under these circumstances the whole machinery of the Soviet power naturally falls under the domination of the Communist Party, and the constitution and organization of the party must be considered.

Half a Million Members and Three Leaders

In the course of the vigorous party discussion which went on during the months of November, December, and January, one often heard the expression "Democratic Centralization" used to describe the Communist principle of organization. On the

whole, centralization is rather more in evidence than democracy, although the rank-and-file party members have secured a larger measure of freedom of speech since the party discussion. In general, the Communist organization resembles that of an army. Disobedience to orders received from a higher party authority is almost always punished with immediate expulsion.

The basic unit in the Communist organization is the *yacheka*, or local group, made up of all the Communists who are working in a factory, office, or institution. Above the *yacheka* is the regional, or ward committee, made up of representatives of a number of *yachekas*; and above this regional committee comes the city committee.

At the top of the whole Communist structure stands the Central Committee of the party, which is elected annually by the party congress and enjoys full executive powers while the congress is not in session. This committee is made up of forty members; but a good deal of initiating and directing power rests in the hands of a smaller group inside the Central Committee, known as the Political Bureau.

During the party controversy the statement was often made that the real power, even within the Political Bureau, rested with three individuals: Stalin, the party secretary; Kamenev, president of the Council of Labor and Defense (an inner cabinet administering the economic life of the country), and Zinoviev. No official confirmation of this statement was ever given, but these three men are unquestionably outstanding figures within the Political Bureau.

The Communist dictatorship is capable of unified, quick, decisive action. Once the Central Committee has reached a decision on a matter of policy, this decision rapidly spreads through the subordinate party organizations until it reaches the remotest parts of the Union; and Communist discipline makes it incumbent upon every party member to work for its realization.

Party Solidarity Reaffirmed

The Communist Party recently passed through two searching tests of its unity and stability, and emerged from both with its power and prestige unbroken. There was first the party discussion—which started in November and came to an abrupt end after the Moscow party conference in January. This discussion centered largely about two issues: The introduction of more

democracy within the party, and the application of more coördination and planning in the management of the state economic life. A number of well-known Communists came out in opposition to the majority of the Central Committee; and Trotsky, who was, after Lenin, the most distinguished individual figure in the party, while he did not formally identify himself with the opposition, became involved in a sharp debate with the leading group in the Central Committee.

Yet this discussion came to an end without any breach in the party ranks. Some of the ideas of the opposition were accepted, at least to a limited extent; but the victory, so far as personal questions were concerned, rested with the Central Committee majority. A few heartburnings remained after the controversy; a few active leaders of the opposition were transferred to less important and conspicuous positions; but in general the whole controversy was liquidated and relegated to the field of history with surprisingly little difficulty.

The other test which the party sustained was the death of Lenin. Here again the foreign observers who predicted break-up and demoralization in the Communist ranks as a result of the loss of the outstanding leader of the revolution were confounded by the course of events. The administration remained in the hands of the men who had been carrying it on during the long periods of Lenin's illness and retirement. Lenin's death, far from weakening the Communist Party, actually produced a temporary strengthening effect, because the Communists were able to use the prestige of their dead leader as an effective rallying cry in a drive for increased party membership.

The fact that the party survived these tests without visible injury shows that the Communist organization to-day is stronger than the most brilliant individual figures which the party has brought into prominence. There are, I think, two reasons for this. In the first place, every Communist has a strong sense of party loyalty. A Communist leader, no matter how much he might feel that he was wronged by certain actions of the ruling group inside the party, would be most unlikely to take any action that might be calculated to destroy or disrupt the party organization. And any leader who did take such action would find that his personal prestige counted for little in comparison with the loyalty which the average Communist feels toward the party

THE CHAIN STORE

BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK

NOBODY can understand the modern distribution situation without understanding the leading revolutionary factor in it, the chain store.

The chain-store idea is more than sixty years old, but its present-day importance is only about one decade old. It is now a billion dollar business and is responsible for most of the movement, intricacy, and upset existing at the present time in distribution. It does a total annual volume of business of \$2,800,000,000, or a little more than 8 per cent. of the retail trade of the United States (which is estimated by Dr. Paul H. Nystrom to be approximately \$35,000,000,000 annually).

This seemingly small 8 per cent. of the retail business is, however, the outstanding part of the distribution picture; it is the tail which wags the dog. The chain store is the one distributing factor that is still growing, enormously and amazingly. In 1910, the grocery chain business in Philadelphia did but 10 per cent. of the total volume, whereas to-day the percentage is 65. In New York, in the same period, the grocery chain stores grew from 600 in number, to more than 5,000 and from 10 per cent. of the volume to 60 per cent. Chain stores are estimated to do one-fifth of the country's drug business, from one-sixth to one-fifth of the grocery business, and half of the notion business.

Comparative Costs of Doing Business

Now the amazing feature of the chain store is not its rapidity of growth, so much as this growth under costs practically equal to those of independent stores. This is the case even in five-and-ten-cent stores. McCrory's cost of doing business is given as 26 per cent. for last year. From the best of calculations possible the Woolworth cost is also close to that of independent stores. Liggett's cost of doing business is 30 per cent., obviously higher than some independent drug stores. The G. C. Kinney retail shoe chain shows a 23 per cent. cost.

If it appears surprising that the chain store succeeds so phenomenally despite the

fact that its costs of doing business are not much less than those of the independent store, it should be remembered that *cost* of doing business is far less important in retail selling than *turnover*. The ordinary grocery store, whose proprietor and his wife work early and late, and whose rental is low, can easily match the chain store's cost of doing business; but its turnover is another thing entirely. The chain store carries only a limited number of items, of proved fast selling capacity, and all the knowledge gained in the operation of many stores is centered upon each store. Instead of the ruinous dead stocks of the independent retailer and a slow turnover, the chain store moves its stocks rapidly, and the wholesaling discount obtained by the chain store's central buying headquarters takes care of the warehousing of adequate stocks.

Six Thousand New Chain Stores in Three Years

The chain idea is extending to new fields of operation and reaching across the world. Chains like the Childs Restaurant have recently gone through to the Pacific coast and opened up in Canada; while the United Drug Company operates both in Canada and Great Britain. Page & Shaw, starting from a small candy shop in Boston, has extended its service to France, England, and Canada. The Cantilever Shoe, with a few stores five years ago, has increased to sixty; the Kinney Shoe chain from 75 stores in 1920 to 188 in 1923.

In these last three years of rapid chain-store growth, Woolworth has added 149 new stores, Kresge 44, Penney 178, Schulte 59, United Cigar 520, Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. 4,849. This makes a total three-year growth of 5,799 for those mentioned, which are far from being all of the leading chains of stores in the country.

The volume of business of many of these chains is a revelation. Woolworth in 1923 sold about \$193,000,000 worth of goods, the A. & P. Stores about \$302,000,000, the United Cigar Stores \$74,000,000, J. C.

Penney \$62,000,000, United Drug \$67,000,000, and Childs Restaurants did a business of \$23,000,000.

A Triumph in Organization

The following tabulation gives some idea of the amount of sales per store, which is valuable to contrast against the average of \$20,000 annual volume which is regarded as about right for retail stores of all kinds:

	Stores	Volume	Average per Store
Atlantic & Pacific.....	10,000	\$302,888,000	\$ 30,288
United Cigar.....	2,440	74,209,000	30,000
American Stores.....	1,300	94,579,850	72,753
Woolworth.....	1,260	193,447,000	153,000
United States Stores.....	612	19,000,000	31,045
National Tea.....	514	31,292,230	60,879
J. C. Penney.....	475	62,189,000	130,000
United Drug.....	279	67,244,000	241,000
Ginter Company.....	274	11,476,859	41,886
Schulte.....	255	25,948,189	101,757
S. S. Kresge.....	233	81,843,233	351,258
Kinney Shoe.....	188	14,107,000	75,000
S. H. Kress.....	152	34,005,464	223,720
Childs.....	103	23,785,000	230,000
Melville Shoe.....	83	6,446,513	77,668
W. T. Grant.....	60	20,625,388	343,756
F. & W. Grand.....	23	5,409,779	235,207

It is far too easy, however, to place the emphasis upon figures when the matter is one of underlying economic psychology. The chain store is nothing less than the triumph of high-class brains and organization to meet a real public need. It is conceded that distribution costs have long been too high and must be reduced. While the chain store has not materially reduced the costs of doing business, it has operated on a faster turnover based upon scientific analysis of stock.

To the manufacturer and advertiser the outstanding result of the chain store has been to compel a new alignment of selling terms and distribution policies. After some desperate struggles with the situation, the principle is fairly well established that such chains as do a bona fide warehousing and wholesaling service, deserve a jobbing discount. This decision, resisted for many years, but inevitable in the face of the high concentrated buying power and genuine wholesaling function of the chains, has superinduced other significant action among distributors, such as syndicated buying or coöperative purchasing by associations of independent retailers. This latter is now a matter of lively discussion.

Effect Upon Mail-Order Business

The chain store has also had its repercussion in other fields of distribution, such as jobbing and mail order. We are now treated to the spectacle not only of chains of jobbers but also, oddly enough, of "cash and carry" wholesalers, where dealers come and buy after the fashion of the famous Piggly-Wiggly store—but all at wholesale!

The chain store has definitely stayed the further spectacular growth of the mail-order business. It is the opinion of experts like Dr. Nystrom that the mail-order business will probably not hereafter grow much faster than the population. Practically the same is true of the department store. What has happened is perhaps not altogether due to the chain store, but largely so. The women on the farm, who for decades have bought from the mail-order houses, resenting the backward-

ness of the country store, now drive in their automobiles to town and shop at a chain store; and they go ten or twenty miles away if such a chain store is not available in their own hamlet. As a matter of fact, chain groceries are opened now in small villages.

Chain Stores Not Yet Dominant

We have to-day more than 2,000 separate chains with 60,000 unit stores. This seems a tremendous factor, but it must be viewed in its proper prospective, after all. There are 1,650,000 retailers in the United States, and the 60,000 unit chain stores are scarcely one-twenty-seventh of the total.

Again, if it may seem that the independent retailer is being forced out of business, we should recall that 70 per cent. of the total of \$35,000,000,000 in goods bought at retail annually is still done over the counter of the independent retailer.

Another way to set this outstanding chain-store development into its true perspective is to contrast it with other forms of distribution which are also in competition with the independent retailer. For example, the mail-order business is about \$1,500,000,000 in annual volume, a little more than half the amount of the chain-

store business. The department store does \$5,500,000,000 annually, or about twice as much as the chain store.

The one fact of consequence regarding the relative position of the chain store is its high rate of growth, which is continuing apace and, in my opinion, will not arrive at the same peak of development that the mail-order and department stores have reached, for ten or fifteen years. The manufacturer who advertises has therefore to calculate his future policies and plans quite definitely in relation to the modern chain store, not only in relation to its own volume and power, but in relation to the movement it is inducing in all other phases of distribution. On the whole, from the point of view of the manufacturer, the retailer, and the public alike, it is my opinion that the chain store is a blessing. Its clear-headed and highly statistical policy is the greatest protection to the live advertiser, for the chain store is frankly out to sell what people want. Only merchandise that sells

easily can make money for the chain store. The independent retailer is taking the retail science as perfected by the chain store and is learning to use it for his own benefit.

Centralized retail purchasing has been quite as inevitable a modern business phenomenon as the huge industrial consolidations among manufacturers have been inevitable. In fact, wise economists know that the shockingly inefficient condition of retail distribution, prior to the stimulus of the chain store, was due principally to the archaic ideas, small size, and insular individualism of retail business, in striking contrast to the highly organized large unit manufacturing enterprise of the country. With larger units governing retail distribution, it is entirely probable that we shall have in general more effective retail selling, more intelligent, low-cost distribution, wider sales appeal evidencing itself more and more in the increased per capita purchase of good articles, and the wider acceptance of standard goods by the consumer.

THE FARMING SITUATION IN IOWA

BY W. G. RAY

[The following statement was embodied in a personal letter to the editor, written by an old friend in Iowa, in reply to certain questions. The writer has consented to publication]

ABOUT 1919 improved land north, east, and southeast of town sold as high as \$450 an acre, some as high as \$500. Some farms were sold with only \$1,000 or \$2,000 paid down and a mortgage taken for the rest.

I have talked with several persons and I find that \$200 an acre is considered a high price to-day for most of this same land and there are practically no transfers.

You will notice from this that reaction is more than 50 per cent. and some farmers say that \$200 is too much. The transfer of farms is comparatively rare, except where they have gone back to the man who holds the mortgage or are sold on foreclosure at sheriff's sale.

Farm lands were marked up by the assessor about 20 per cent. during the boom times. Farmers complain to-day that they can not make money on the valuation at

which farms even now are assessed and no farm land in this section is placed as high as \$100 an acre on the assessors' books, \$84.22 being the average for this county.

Referring to your next question: No farmer would sell his land at present assessed valuation unless forced to do so and few farmers would sell for double the assessed valuation.

Farms in this county are over 60 per cent. mortgaged, due partly to the inflation of values five years ago, when a man with 160 acres thought he was worth \$75,000, and partly to the deflation and the fact that he can hardly make a living and pay interest and taxes. One farmer I know, during high prices, paid down \$30,000 on a farm. This season it went back to the original owner because he couldn't keep up the interest and he lost his \$30,000.

As one man put it, "the farmers are all

broke, but some of them haven't found it out yet."

Referring to the McNary-Haugen bill: There is a general feeling in Iowa that the farmers have got much the worst of it and they looked upon the bill as an honest attempt to help them even up. The defeat of the bill, due to Eastern influence, has caused bitterness among some of them. I will say candidly that many farmers and many business men do not know whether the McNary-Haugen bill would help them if passed, but they feel that it was an effort in the right direction and there is quite a strong feeling here among farmers that the East is doing the West a great injury. Back in the "greenback" days you remember the story of the cow with her head in the West and her tail in the East, with the greenback theory that the East was doing all the milking and the West was doing all the feeding. There is something of that spirit here now. Of course, many of our farmers are in good shape, but they are the ones who did not buy land and plaster the home place with a mortgage in 1919. The farmer who owns 160 acres can make a living, but I don't see to-day how he can carry anything to profit. I heard a talk a few days ago by the head of the agricultural college at Ames in which he showed that the farmers were actually losing 10 to 20 per cent., at least, on the real valuation of their property each year. The only farmers who are able to carry anything to the profit side, according to his tabulations, were the men who sold dairy products.

The rather serious condition of the farmer is the reason that you have Brookhart in Washington from this State, Magnus Johnson from Minnesota, the Farmers' Non-Partisan Alliance in the Dakotas and Norris from western Nebraska. We are told that money can be secured in the East at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. through the Federal Reserve Bank, but in the West, a farmer pays from 5 to 6 per cent. on his mortgage and doesn't think it is right. I think you would be surprised to find the number of farmers, good, clean, upright men, always considered well-to-do, who stand up for men of the radical type and sometimes I think that if the moneyed men in the East could understand what was good for them they would try to get some of their money on these western farms at a rate of interest which a farmer could pay.

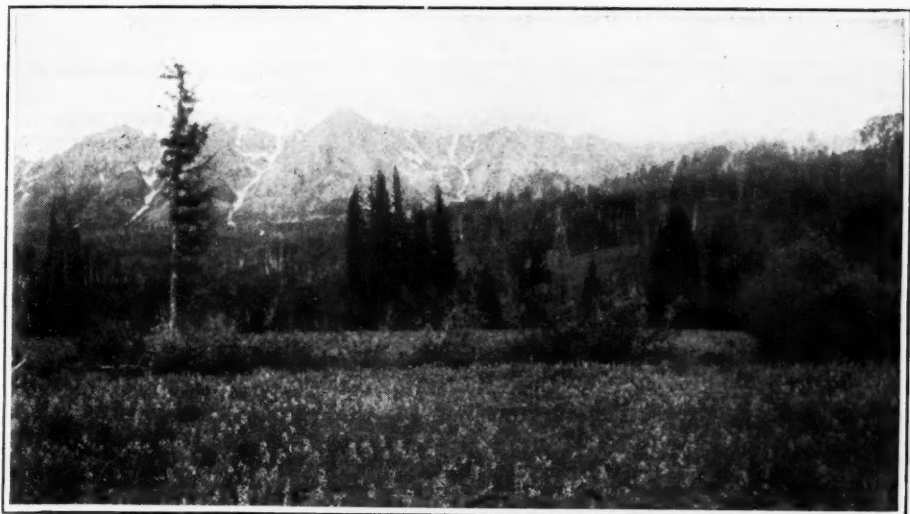
A man in this town bought a few years ago a certain eighty, paying \$500 an acre. He paid \$17,000 down and gave a mortgage for the balance. The interest on the mortgage was about \$1,200 a year. With wheat at \$1 a bushel and corn ranging from 40 cents to 60 cents he couldn't make enough off the place to pay the interest. Last spring he let it go back, lost his \$17,000, the interest on it, and the interest and the taxes that he had been able to pay on the mortgage.

I am telling this incident to show the hard condition many are in who have large interest to pay on farm property. I'll tell you right now they never will be able to pay it at 5 per cent. until they can get \$1.75 at least for wheat, \$1 for their corn and 15 cents for hogs and cattle, or get 4 per cent. money.

While the farmer has suffered from deflation and depreciation, wages of workingmen have constantly gone up. Transportation rates have not fallen. Now, with the increase of wages and the increase of the buying capacity of a railroad engineer, the selling price of wheat ought to advance, but it doesn't. [This letter was written before the recent advance in wheat.] I am interested in hearing people discuss conditions. There is a feeling here that it will be three or four years at least before things will be adjusted. In the meantime the moneyed men of the East are "blowing" their money in on trips to Europe.

Now, I don't wish to be misunderstood. The farmer isn't living to-day on sow-belly and potatoes by any means. The farmer has acquired an appetite, just like the rest of us, and when he goes to the table he likes to sit down to something that tempts his appetite and I think that the farmers, so far as table is concerned, are living well. The farmers must have their Ford. It has come to be a necessity and the farmers' boys and girls want free use of that Ford and gasoline is still pretty high. I think myself that the average farmer's expenses are too high for his income, but so are mine, and it is none of my business, but the fact stands out here in the West, there are some men who buy autos and drive them hard who don't pay their bills nor dress their wives well.

I think the moneyed men of the East ought to understand conditions in the West better. If they did, I do not believe the West would be as flat as it is.



ONE OF THE COLORADO MOUNTAIN PARKS IN WHICH "POISON WEED" (LARKSPUR) ABOUNDS
(This beautiful valley is known to cattle men as the "boneyard" because of the many animals which have met their death there)

THE CATTLE-POISONING LARKSPUR

BY C. DWIGHT MARSH

(Physiologist in Charge of Investigations of Stock Poisoning by Plants, U. S. Department of Agriculture)

IN THE mountain ranges of the western United States great numbers of cattle are pastured during the summer months. While some of these cattle ranges are rather bleak and uninteresting, many are very beautiful; they are covered with a luxuriant vegetation which furnishes ideal feed for cattle. This plant growth includes very many exceedingly beautiful flowering plants, so that in the summer season some of the mountain valleys are remarkably attractive. The picture on this page, a park in the Colorado mountains, is a good illustration of such a valley. Yet this particular valley is known as a "boneyard" on account of the number of cattle which have died there. One could hardly imagine a more beautiful spot or one more suitable for cattle grazing, but woe to the cattle that feed over this park.

The level portion of the valley, shown in the foreground of the picture, is covered with what the cowboys call "poison weed." If one were fortunate enough to make

a horseback trip through this region, he could hardly avoid a feeling of exquisite esthetic pleasure at the sight of herds of cattle peacefully grazing in such beautiful surroundings. If one of these bunches of cattle were started up and driven a little way on the run, very likely one, two, three, or more would be seen to suddenly fall and be unable to rise for some little time. Some might not rise at all. If you had a cowboy companion he would tell you that it was due to "poison" or "poison weed," probably prefacing the terms with some decidedly profane adjectives. He might tell you further that his outfit had more than once lost all its year's profits because of this "poison." Losses of twenty or thirty head at one time are not at all unusual. If you ask what this poison is, he will reply very promptly, "Larkspur." As a matter of fact, however, it is only comparatively recently that it has been definitely shown that the larkspur is the cause of the trouble.

The larkspurs are well known as culti-



A COMMON LOW LARKSPUR GROWING IN THE MOUNTAINS FROM COLORADO WESTWARD

vated plants and valued both for the striking appearance of the plants and for the rich and brilliant colors of the flowers, which are in shades of blue, purple and scarlet.

Most of us think of larkspurs as attractive garden plants with no harmful characteristics, but larkspur-poisoning is one of the most difficult things the range cattleman has to contend with. There are many kinds of wild larkspurs and they frequently grow in dense masses in the western mountains. While there are many species, the range larkspurs can be roughly classified as "low larkspurs" and "high larkspurs." The plant in the picture of the Colorado park is one of the low larkspurs, a single plant being shown on this page. This grows ordinarily to a height of a foot or eighteen inches, blossoms in the spring or early summer, and dies down not far from July 1. The fact that it disappears early in the summer makes it possible to avoid losses by keeping the cattle away from low larkspur areas until after the disappearance of the plant. In some localities "riding for poison," as it is called, is a regular occupation for the cattlemen in the months of May and June; by this they mean the work of keeping the cattle below the heights at

which the larkspur grows abundantly, and thus avoiding losses.

The tall larkspurs, as the name indicates, are larger plants, some of them growing to six or seven feet in height. They blossom in July or even later, and many of them remain until killed by the fall frosts. But it is in the spring that the tall larkspurs do the most harm. They grow more rapidly than the grasses, and in bunches one or two feet high like that in the picture are sufficiently attractive to cattle to be eaten in considerable quantities. The high larkspurs sometimes grow in fairly dense masses. When cattle drift into such places trouble frequently follows. The rider who is looking after the cattle may have the experience of the cowboy in the picture, only instead of one victim he may find twenty or thirty or even more. He will probably tell you that it is always the best animals that are poisoned. While this probably is not the case, it certainly is true that very many fine animals fall victims to these plants.

There are several kinds of tall larkspurs and all are equally poisonous. In Colorado and Utah the common high larkspur is the one known to botanists as *Delphinium barbeyi*. The common one in Montana is the *Delphinium cucullatum*; the picture taken in the valley of the West Gallatin shows a thick growth of this plant.

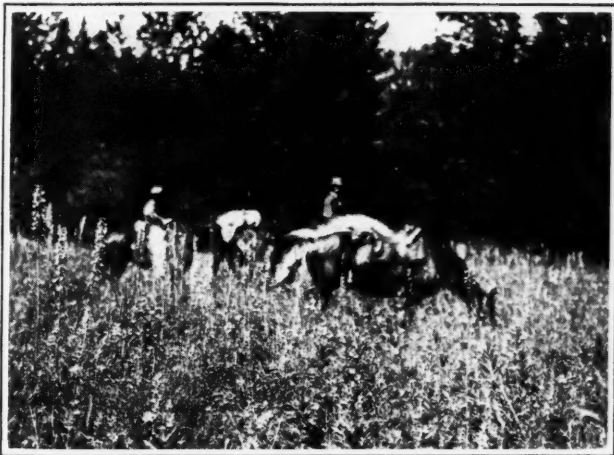
It is an interesting fact that the tall larkspurs after blossoming gradually lose their poisonous properties, so that in the late summer and fall cattle feed upon them with no harm whatever. However, in some high



A HIGH LARKSPUR BEFORE BLOSSOMING: ITS MOST DANGEROUS AGE

mountains where the snows remain most of the summer, as in parts of the Sierras, the plants blossom late, and cattle may be poisoned in the fall.

The movements of "larkspurred" animals are very characteristic and are easily recognized by the experienced stockman. Animals stagger like the steer in the picture, the legs doubling up under them as though all power of controlling the muscles were lost. After falling they are entirely unable to rise, but after a little time may get up and walk off, only to repeat the



A DENSE GROWTH OF TALL LARKSPUR IN THE VALLEY OF THE WEST GALLATIN, MONTANA



A STEER POISONED BY LARKSPUR

falling, perhaps several times. When down they sometimes throw themselves about, and if they are on a declivity, will, in their struggles, get their heads on the down hill side, and in this position are almost sure to die.

We have spoken of poisoned cattle. As a matter of fact, cattle are the only animals that are poisoned on the range. Horses can be poisoned by larkspur, but never are when left to themselves, and sheep not only are not poisoned but seem to thrive on a larkspur diet. On this account a badly infested larkspur range, which is dangerous

for cattle, can be used profitably for horses or sheep. Sometimes by "sheeping" the larkspur, the range may be made safe for cattle.

We have been telling about the losses caused by larkspurs in the West. There is a larkspur growing in the East, however, which can produce similar results. Many cattle have been lost in the Virginia mountains from this plant, which seems to be just as toxic as its western relatives. It does not grow in such masses, however, and it does not have such large herds feeding upon it as do the western larkspurs.



A VICTIM OF LARKSPUR POISONING

NATIONAL ORIGINS: OUR NEW IMMIGRATION FORMULA

BY GEORGE WHEELER HINMAN, JR.

WHEN the United States first undertook to curtail the flow of immigration, the problem of finding a reasonable formula upon which to base the fair distribution of quotas among the various nationalities affected immediately presented itself. The problem was a most troublesome one, complicated by political considerations at home and by diplomatic difficulties abroad.

Assuming the actual curtailment of immigration to be desirable, there still remained to be passed upon several important matters. Nationally speaking, the people of the United States were entitled to first consideration. Hence, it was essential that any basis of restriction should be one which would conserve their interests. There was, in addition, the desire to afford fair treatment to the peoples of other nations, hundreds of thousands of whom had left their home lands to begin their lives again in the New World. Those seeking asylum from political or religious persecution had traditionally found in the United States a haven of refuge.

Emergency Law of 1921

The first actual move to curtail immigration numerically was the emergency quota law of May 19, 1921, restricting the admission of aliens in any year to 3 per cent. of the number of foreign-born persons of each nationality residing in the United States as shown by the census of 1910. In other words, there being approximately 1,401,900 persons of Italian birth resident in the United States according to the census of 1910, Italy was entitled to send 3 per cent. of that figure, or 42,057 immigrants, to the United States each year.

It is difficult to justify this formula for restriction upon any basis save that of sheer expediency. There is no particular reason why the number of foreign-born of any one nationality should determine how many

more that nation might send to American shores. The argument that, because so many had come in recent years, a proportionate number should be admitted in future years, is too far-fetched to be worthy of serious consideration. The history of American immigration is a story of successive waves from various sections of the Old World.

Early Predominance of Northern European Stocks

During the first two centuries and a half following the discovery of America, only 80,000 immigrants entered the area which is now part of the United States. At the close of these 250 years, these immigrants had grown by natural processes until the population of the area approximated 1,000,000 persons. Half a century later, the first census, that of 1790, showed the population of the United States to be almost 4,000,000, practically all of whom were descendants of the original 80,000. Excepting a small sprinkling of descendants of immigrants from France, Spain, Holland, and the Rhenish provinces of Germany, the population of 1790 was British and Irish.

The first American immigration law was enacted in 1820. No official record of immigration was kept by the national government prior to that date. From the best available sources, however, it has been estimated that approximately 300,000 immigrants entered the United States between 1783, the date of the Treaty with Great Britain acknowledging American independence, and 1820. Practically every one of the 300,000 came from the nations of northern and western Europe.

In all, there have been five great waves of immigration in American history. The number of immigrants entering the United States each year did not pass the 100,000 mark until 1842, when the total reached 104,565. The immigration wave then rose

steadily until it reached its crest of 427,833 in 1854. This first wave was chiefly British in origin, although political disturbances in Germany drove a large number from that area of Europe to the United States. Almost all the immigrants came from the nations of northern and western Europe.

Rise of Southern and Eastern Europe as Immigration Factors

After 1854, the tide receded, but a second wave began sweeping in during the Civil War and rose to a crest of 459,803 in 1873. This wave, too, was mainly British and German, plus a touch of Scandinavian. For the first time, moreover, there was a noticeable trace of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Numerically, they were negligible, crossing the 10,000 mark for the first time in 1871. The nations of northern and western Europe were still furnishing the great bulk of immigration.

The third wave began in 1880 and swept quickly to a high mark of 788,992 in 1882. Secondary crests in the same general movement were reached in 1888 and 1892. Although the immigrants of northern and western Europe still dominated, there was a most significant and insistent increase in the flow from the southern and eastern nations. In 1882, they were 11 per cent. of the total, in 1888, 26 per cent., and in 1892, 47 per cent. For the first time, Italy, Russia, Poland and Austria-Hungary were furnishing a considerable proportion of the annual immigration. The influx from Russia and Poland brought many immigrants of the Hebrew race.

Although the third wave definitely receded after 1892, the immigration from southern and eastern Europe continued to occupy its position of prominence. Finally, in 1896, with a percentage of 57 of the total immigration, it passed numerically the influx from the nations of northern and western Europe. From that time until the operation of the quota law of 1921, except for the World War years, the nations of southern and eastern Europe continued to furnish more than half, and in some years more than three-fourths, the total.

In the fourth immigration wave, with the record crest of 1,285,349 in 1907 and secondary crests in 1910 and 1914, the few immigrants from northern and western Europe were completely submerged in the flood from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. Of the record influx in 1907,

979,661, or more than three-fourths, came from the nations of southern and eastern Europe. For each succeeding year until the outbreak of the World War called a halt, the immigration from these nations exceeded two-thirds of the total. In 1914, it again crossed the three-fourths mark in a total immigration of 1,218,480, only a few thousand below the record figure of 1907. From all indications, only the declarations of war in August, 1914, prevented the year 1915 from setting a new record.

The World War checked the flow of immigration from Europe, which fell from above the million mark in 1914 to less than 25,000 in 1919, or only 18 per cent. of the total for that year. The year 1920, however, started the fifth wave from Europe. The total for the year was 430,001, of which two-fifths came from southern and eastern Europe, one-fifth from northern and western Europe, and the remaining two-fifths principally from other countries of North and South America. The wave continued to rise, reaching 805,228 in 1921. Of this total, more than two-thirds came from southern and eastern Europe. Then the emergency quota law of May, 1921, called a halt.

Emergency Quota Worked Against Northern Nationalities

There was no denying that this emergency act operated in favor of those nationalities which of later years had furnished the bulk of American immigration. For fourteen years prior to the census of 1910, the nationalities of southern and eastern Europe had supplied between one-half and three-fourths of American immigrants. With the law of 1921 basing immigration quotas upon the number of foreign-born of each nationality residing within the United States as shown by the census of 1910, these later arrivals were bound to count heavily against the nations which had sent their immigrants to American shores in the earlier years. So it came about quite naturally that those nations in which had originated nearly four-fifths of the white population of the United States were assigned barely one-half the total immigration quota.

General recognition was given the fact that the law of 1921 was only a makeshift measure designed to meet an emergency. There still remained unsolved the problem of working out a formula for the curtailment

of immigration which would serve the interests of the American people and at the same time do justice to the peoples of other nations. In itself, the problem was sufficiently difficult, but this difficulty was greatly aggravated by national and racial controversies. The original sources of American immigration were the nations of northern and western Europe. The newer sources were the nations of southern and eastern Europe. This fact gave rise to the most involved disputes over the relative merits of races and nationalities. Physical, mental, and moral characteristics were debated with some bitterness. Records of antiquity were ransacked by eager scholars to prove this or that doctrine of racial superiority or to disprove a doctrine advanced by somebody else. Much was written, and more was said; and but little of either had any real bearing upon the true issue involved in the search for a formula which would justly curtail American immigration.

Through all the storm of national and racial controversy, the search for an American immigration formula went painstakingly on. The crisis of 1921, with 5,000,000 unemployed in the United States and immigrants entering at the rate of almost 1,000,000 a year, crystallized the belief that the time had come to check the unlimited flow of aliens from abroad. The law of 1921, while it met the emergency,

failed to provide a permanently satisfactory means for immigration control. There could be no justification for basing alien quotas on foreign-born inhabitants of the United States and at the same time utterly ignoring the native-born. There was, too, a growing feeling that the law of 1921 admitted an excessive number of immigrants.

Recognizing Native-Born of Foreign Origin

All efforts were concentrated upon the task of reaching a solution which, while curtailing the flow of immigration, would at the same time recognize the claims of the native-born as well as those of the foreign-born residing within the United States. In other words, the purpose was to grant recognition to the descendants of those immigrants who had come to the United States in the earlier years and so no longer figured prominently in the compilations of the foreign-born.

The census of 1920 indicated that, of the white population of the United States, approximately 85 per cent. had originated in northern and western Europe and 15 per cent. in southern and eastern Europe. This was in marked contrast to the European immigration quotas of 1921, which, based upon the foreign-born as shown by the census of 1910, gave 55 per cent. to northern and western and 45 per cent. to southern and eastern Europe. In brief, if the origin

IMMIGRATION FROM LEADING SOURCES, AS AFFECTED BY RESTRICTION LAWS

	Year prior to restriction (1921)	Restrictive law of 1921		Restrictive law of 1924	
		Quota	Admitted 1922	Quota 1925-27	Quota from July 1, 1927
Austria	4,947	7,451	4,797	785	1,842
Czechoslovakia	40,884	14,282	14,248	3,073	1,310
France	9,552	5,729	4,343	3,954	2,763
Germany	6,803	68,059	10,053	51,227	22,017
Greece	28,502	3,294	3,447	100	536
Italy	222,260	42,057	42,149	3,845	5,877
Jugoslavia	23,536	6,426	6,644	671	601
Poland	95,080	25,827	26,129	5,982	4,500
Russia	6,398	34,284	28,908	2,248	4,002
Sweden	9,171	20,042	8,766	9,561	3,706
Turkey	18,126	656	1,096	100	114
United Kingdom	79,577	77,342	42,070	62,574	91,110

All figures are for fiscal years ending June 30. The last column is based upon estimates furnished to the Senate; other figures are from the Bureau of Immigration.

The 1921 law restricted immigration to 3 per cent. of foreign-born persons of each nationality resident here in 1910.

The 1924 law provides that for three years immigration will be restricted to 2 per cent. based on the census of 1890, and that after June 30, 1927, total immigration from all countries will be limited to 150,000 based upon national origins of white inhabitants as shown by the census of 1920.

of the native-born as well as of the foreign-born were to be considered, the quota of southern and eastern Europe would have to be divided by three, and that of northern and western Europe increased by nearly one-half. Any such change, so far as southern and eastern Europe was concerned, would be made more drastic as the total of all quotas was reduced. And yet, assuming that immigration should be curtailed on a basis of even-handed justice to all those who resided within the United States, it was hard to challenge the fairness of a principle which sought to recognize the rights of both the native and the foreign-born.

So the demand grew for the preparation of an immigration formula based upon the national origins of the American people as shown by the best available records, the census of 1920. There were numerous obstacles to the meeting of that demand. It would be no simple task to determine even with approximate accuracy the national origins of 95,000,000 persons, the white population of the United States. It was comparatively easy to estimate that approximately 85 per cent. of that white population had come from the countries of northern and western Europe, but it was another matter to distribute that 85 per cent. upon the face of the changing map of the Old World. And, as for the 15 per cent. from southern and eastern Europe, the task was just that much more difficult.

Enemies of the principle assailed the idea of a national origins formula as hopelessly unworkable. It was unthinkable, they argued, that any calculator could distribute the quotas with any degree of accuracy. So strong was the opposition that many supporters of the national origins idea advocated the achievement of approximately the same general result by the building of quotas upon the basis of the foreign-born as shown by the census of 1890. This, of course, was a purely arbitrary method designed to restore the balance between the nations of northern and western Europe on the one hand and those of southern and eastern Europe on the other. Meantime,

the opponents of the national origins idea were fighting bitterly to retain the census of 1910 as the basis of calculations.

A Basis Found in "National Origins"

The outcome of the struggle was a complete victory for both the national origins formula and the census of 1890, the latter as a stop-gap to control during the years prior to July 1, 1927, when the former becomes operative. During each of the years 1925, 1926, and 1927, quotas are to be assigned on the basis of 2 per cent. of the foreign-born of the various nationalities as

shown by the census of 1890. The total of these quotas will approximate 162,000, as against 358,000 under the emergency quota law of 1921. During those same three years, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor, jointly, are to work out a plan for admitting to the United States annually 150,000 immigrants with quotas distributed upon the basis of the national origins of the white inhabitants of the United States as shown by the census of 1920.

For example, approximately three-fifths of the white population of the United States originated in Great Britain and Ireland. Accordingly, the annual quota for Great Britain and Ireland for 1928—the governmental fiscal and statistical year ends on June 30 of the calendar year—will approximate three-fifths of 150,000, or 90,000 immigrants. There is a saving clause under which no national quota for admissible immigrants may be less than 100. On the strict national origins basis, for instance, the Egyptian quota would be only three. The quota restriction does not apply to Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and the independent nations of Central and South America. In accordance with the traditional spirit of Pan-Americanism, there is no restriction upon these, if they meet the general requirements. On the other hand, no quotas are given those nationalities ineligible to American citizenship.

The national origins formula works a complete change in the distribution of

ALIENS ADMITTED (Years ending June 30)

1910.....	1,041,570
1911.....	878,587
1912.....	838,172
1913.....	1,197,892
1914.....	1,218,480
1915.....	326,700
1916.....	298,826
1917.....	295,403
1918.....	110,618
1919.....	141,132
1920.....	430,001
1921.....	805,228
1922.....	309,556
1923.....	522,919
1924.....	879,300

The table has been spaced to show immigration before, during, and after the war, and also the temporary effect of the restrictive law which became operative in the fiscal year 1922.

immigration quotas. Of the total white population of the United States in 1910, approximately 12,000,000 were of foreign birth. Under the quota law of 1921, immigrants were admitted in quotas distributed among the nations in accordance with the origins of these 12,000,000. The national origins formula, however, takes into account not only these foreign-born, but also the native-born; and the immigration quotas are distributed in accordance with the origins of all the 95,000,000 white residents of the United States. In a typical State on the Atlantic seaboard, for instance, 27 per cent. of the population is of foreign birth. Under the law of 1921, the remaining 73 per cent., the native-born, had no voice in determining who should be admitted to the United States, for quotas were apportioned solely on the basis of the 27 per cent. minority. Under the national origins formula, the entire 100 per cent. receive equal consideration within the total of authorized immigration.

Selection at the Source

In addition to establishing a new basis for immigration restriction, the Act of May, 1924, also provides for regulating admissions by a system of immigration visas administered by the American consular service abroad. The new system goes as far as national sovereignty will permit in selecting American immigration at the source. Before any immigrant sails for the United States, he receives from the local American consul an immigration visa, to obtain which he must answer certain questions bearing upon his admissibility. Unless his national quota is unfilled and unless he appears otherwise qualified for admission to the United States, he is denied the visa. In past years, tens of thousands of persons have reached American ports only to be denied admission, usually for reasons that could have been ascertained in their native lands. The system of immigration visas operates to reject the inadmissible alien before he leaves his native land.

How the New Law Will Work

A few outstanding cases will suffice to show drastic effect of the application of the national origins idea to American immigration. Under the emergency law of 1921, the Italian quota was 42,057. Under the national origins formula, it will approximate 5,800, less than one-seventh of the former

quota, and during the three years under the census of 1890 it will be 3,845, less than one-tenth. Czechoslovakia drops from 14,357 under the law of 1921 to 3,073 under the census of 1890, and again to about 1,300 under the national origins formula. Russia was allowed 24,405 by the law of 1921. She will have only 2,248 each year under the census of 1890 and about 4,000 under the national origins formula. Poland falls from 30,979 to 5,982 under the census of 1890 and finally to approximately 4,500 on the basis of national origins.

The case of Great Britain and Ireland presents the other side of the picture. Their quota under the law of 1921 was 77,342. It is cut to 62,574 during each of the three years on the basis of the census of 1890, but the national origins formula is expected to raise it above the 90,000 mark. When it is recalled that about 45,000,000 of the American people to-day are descendants of Revolutionary War stock, the reason for this increase is not difficult to understand.

Next to Great Britain and Ireland comes Germany. The German quota under the law of 1921 was 67,607. It drops to 51,227 under the census of 1890, and then is cut to about 22,000 by the national origins formula. Only the British-Irish and the German annual quotas will exceed the 6,000 mark under the national origins formula. Together, they will form about three-fourths of the 150,000 immigration allowance granted all quota nationalities. Under the law of 1921, they composed barely two-fifths of the 358,000 total.

A National Immigration Policy Outlined

Although the cases of individual nations are of interest, the real importance of the national origins formula lies in its significance as a definite phase in the development of an American immigration policy. The adoption of the formula represents the triumph of two premises. The major premise is that the time has come for the United States to erect a barrier against the flow of immigration from foreign lands. The minor premise is that the barrier shall be one which, however high it is raised, will admit each year a miniature replica of the American people as they are to-day.

The significance of the major premise can hardly be overemphasized. True, the quota law of 1921 provided for the numerical restriction of alien admissions; but the act

itself was purely a temporary expedient to meet a critical situation, and effective for only one year. During that year, attempts were made to draft substitute immigration legislation of a more or less temporary character, and, when these attempts failed, the law of 1921 was continued in operation for another two years, still purely as an emergency measure.

There is nothing temporary, however, in the wording of the new immigration law adopting the national origins formula for immigration control. Debates on the floors of Congress indicated plainly that the legislators felt they were establishing a permanent immigration policy to be followed for many years to come. With the exception of a comparatively few representatives from urban centers containing large settlements of the foreign-born, both the Senate and the House of Representatives were practically unanimous in indorsing the principle of numerical restriction.

Total of Admissions Fixed by Congress

The use of the national origins formula greatly simplifies the problem of numerical control. There is no longer the need for involved calculations with percentages and census statistics in order to determine just how many immigrants would be admitted to the United States under a certain scheme. The primary step in the use of the national origins formula is the fixing of a maximum total of admissions by Congress. In the present law, the annual total under the formula is fixed at 150,000, but, while the principle of restriction is definitely established, the total of authorized admissions may be changed at will. By 1928, for example, conditions may be such that Congress will feel warranted in authorizing a total of 300,000 quota immigrants annually. Two years later, perhaps, it may seem advisable to cut the total admissions to 50,000. Congress will have only to survey conditions and then pass a simple resolution directing that for a stated period a stated total of quota immigrants shall be admitted annually to the United States.

Quotas National Rather Than Racial

Under the national origins formula, the distribution of this immigration total among the various quota classifications becomes merely an administrative function of the Executive Branch of the Government. Each nation already having contributed a

certain percentage of the American people will be allotted a corresponding percentage of the immigration total as its quota. In other words, the American people are taken as they stand, and to them each year is added, in whatever number Congress may direct, an instalment of European immigration reproducing in miniature the American composite.

All the quotas are national, not racial. No attempt is made to discriminate between the various racial groups within any nation. Each nation is allowed a fixed quota covering all who reside within its jurisdiction. Under the emergency law of 1921, for example, the quota for Turkey was 2,654 each year. In a typical year, only 158 of the alien admissions charged against the Turkish quota were actually Turks. There were, on the other hand, 658 Armenians, 631 Syrians, and 417 Hebrews. Indeed, more Greeks than Turks entered the United States under the Turkish quota during that year. The point was that all came from territory under the jurisdiction of the Turkish Government. Similar conditions prevail under the national origins formula, for the United States cannot presume to discriminate between the various peoples within the boundaries of a sovereign nation.

The underlying principle of the national origins formula is that the people of the United States to-day have a vested and equal right to say who shall join them. While the emergency law of 1921 permitted the foreign-born residents of the United States to determine the distribution of immigration quotas, the national origins formula gives equal voice to native-born and foreign-born alike. The formula seeks to avoid the charge of discrimination by treating all nationalities in proportion as they have contributed to the upbuilding of the American Republic.

The United States has departed definitely from the policy of encouraging white immigration from practically all sources, regardless of origin. Instead, there has been adopted the policy of stringent numerical restriction and the admission of aliens in proportion as the various nations of the Old World are represented in the existing make-up of the American people. The application of this new policy rests with the national origins formula, the adoption of which marked the most significant step in the direction of immigration control taken in three centuries of American history.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Third Party Prospects

MOST of the so-called "journals of opinion" have not hesitated to rush to the aid of Senator LaFollette in the presidential campaign. A jury of competent judges would be required to determine which was first to champion the new party, or which one is the most vigorous in its support.

The *New Republic* (New York) characterizes the movement as the most formidable political revolt in half a century, expressing the aspirations of the common man; and it trumpets to the world that it will be "in the thick of the fight." That it will be a losing fight is admitted, for "it is improbable that either LaFollette or Davis can be elected."

The *New Republic* believes in the two-party system. Of the three parties or possible parties which are competing for popular favor, two will survive and one will perish; and the significant question concerns the survival of the Progressive or the Democratic party as the official opponent of "a consciously conservative Republicanism." If LaFollette is elected, or if he should prevent the election of Davis or Coolidge, or if he should show a larger strength than Roosevelt in 1912, the organization of a new party would almost certainly follow and one of the older parties would have to pass out. The reader of the editorial from which we are quoting might readily gain the impression that there is not yet a party behind Senator LaFollette, but merely a combination of more or less radical factions.

The *Nation* (New York) flies the banner of LaFollette for President at its masthead, as "the candidate of the plain people." Yet the editors permit their special Washington correspondent, Mr. William Hard, to characterize the elements supporting LaFollette as "fortuitously conjoined members of a body of clay into which the leader himself will have to breathe the breath of

life" if the body "is to remain intact and spring to its feet and live as a new and permanent political party."

The author of the *Nation* article finds three elements supporting LaFollette, each for a special separate reason of its own: First, the railroad trade unions, who believe themselves not treated as well by the present administration as by the preceding one. Second are the western farmers, who had been persuaded that a low price for wheat indicated the need of a new party. The third element supporting LaFollette is the Socialist party, with whom the first two groups of supporters—and the leader himself—are not at all in sympathy. What permanent idea, what permanent vision, the author inquires, can fuse the elements of the new party together?

The *Independent* (Boston), which is "unconvinced as to the utter honesty of his [LaFollette's] mental processes," maintains that "the end of the two-party system approaches," although it also remarks that "an enduring third party is not likely to result immediately from this campaign." The two-party system appears inadequate to satisfy the political aspirations of a mixed industrial and agricultural society. The present LaFollette movement is likened to a net, and

the fish are of many colors and shapes, including sluggish farmer-labor hybrids, old and rusty Marxian Socialists, darting Communists of small size but feverish activity, and a few somewhat dazed representatives of the progressive school. Each variety tends naturally to herd with its own kind, often fighting to a finish there because it sets more store by conviction than compromise. Messiahs rarely compromise. Merged thus hastily into a larger group, can these enthusiasts hang together? How long will hope remain, and how long can men who have fought and bled to attain group leaderships follow anyone, even Battling Bob?

But the merger may be accepted as the inevitable step in the creation of an enduring third party.

A contributor to the same issue of the *Independent* that contained the editorial from which we have been quoting—Prof. Fred E. Haynes, of the University of Iowa—reminds us that Senator LaFollette has not been in good health and that his age [he is now sixty-nine] will prevent him from carrying on a campaign with the aim of a possible ultimate success in 1928. "His personal characteristics make it difficult to think of him as selecting and training any successor . . . and it is hard to perceive elements of permanence in his leadership and program."

The *Outlook* believes that however impossible is the present combination of Labor and Wisconsin radicalism, it may nevertheless be the beginning of a Labor party in the United States.

Comparing the LaFollette Progressive movement with that of Roosevelt in 1912, the *World To-morrow* (New York) expresses the belief that the new movement reflects "more widespread and genuine progressive thinking." Further, "the Roosevelt revolt was more definitely focused in one individual leader."



"PARADISE, D. C., OR BUST!"

From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, New York)

In *Public Affairs* (Washington, D. C.) Mr. Lee Somers, discussing candidates and platforms, declares that the nomination of two conservatives by the old parties will tend to drive progressives into LaFollette's camp. "But for all that," he continues, "a conservative will be the next occupant of the White House."

Will There Be an American Labor Party?

IT SEEMS to be the common custom—though we are assured that it is improper and wrong—to refer to Senator LaFollette's candidacy and support as the Third party or the Progressive party. But the public has been too hasty; there is no new party. In the words of the candidate himself:

If the hour is at hand for the birth of a new political party, the American people next November will register their will and their united purpose by a vote of such magnitude that a new political party will be inevitable.

A dozen or more labor unions were among the organizations which issued the call for the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland on July 4, resulting in the presidential candidacy of the Wisconsin Senator. Later the executive council of the American Federation of Labor endorsed the candidate but not the movement. It characterized the two old parties as morally bankrupt, yet it was at pains to withhold approval of an independent party.

Assuredly, if there is confusion in the minds of the public there is also a lack of

understanding among the initiators of the movement.

The *American Labor Monthly* (New York) waxes satirical, calls Senator LaFollette "His Progressive Majesty," and likens him to Napoleon, who refused to be crowned by the Pope and himself placed the regalia on the imperial head. At the Cleveland convention "he refused to let them nominate him" and would permit only an endorsement.

A "nomination" involves an acceptance and, therefore, implies at least a moral obligation to take into consideration the views of the nominators. An "endorsement" on the other hand is an unselfish act of piety which does not obligate the endorsee to do anything.

Also, the leader had to be accepted on his own platform—which causes this labor periodical to remind us of the difference between a constitution which is *adopted* by a people and one which is *granted* them by a ruler. We can find nothing in the editorial comment of the *American Labor Monthly* to indicate that it perceives in the LaFollette movement even the beginnings of a labor party.

The *Modern Quarterly* (Boston) publishes a series of three articles under the general title "Is America Ripe for a Labor Party?" presenting "the attitudes of the various radical parties." And it takes occasion to add, editorially, that the division found in the essays is no reason for distress.

In the first article, C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers' party, maintains that the LaFollette movement is in "the hands of reactionary labor leaders and leaders of organizations of well-to-do farmers." A party so organized, he declares, would be a "third" party and not a class Farmer-Labor party. It may be another five years "before there is created in this country a mass political party representing the two producing groups."

In the second article, James O'Neal, Socialist and editor of the *New Leader*, expresses the view that "LaFollette may be the price paid to get a Labor party in the United States." He emphasizes the distinction between a Labor party and a LaFollette movement, and declares that time alone can tell what the outcome will be.

In the third article, V. L. Reynolds, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist

Labor ticket, bitterly attacks the proposal to organize a labor party out of "middle class factions" and "warring groups." The time is not ripe, he declares, for a harmonious third party of any reform sort.



HOW TO MAKE HIM DRINK
From the *Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wis.)

The Foreign Language Press on the Davis Candidacy

ACCORDING to an estimate of the United States Census Bureau, there were on January 1, 1922, 6,721,705 naturalized aliens of voting age in the United States. It would be interesting to know how those of this large group who will go to the polls next November will vote. One thing is certain: they will not vote as a unit because, except for the fact that a preponderating majority of them are laborers, there exist among them the same economic, social and political cleavages which are found in the native-born population. Even though so many of them are in the laboring classes, there are the same differences of view among them as among their American-born co-workers.

A notion of these differences may be obtained from the foreign-language press, which a great many of them read and which largely influences their attitude, although there exists a noticeable tendency on the part of the foreign-born, in their political

affiliations as in other respects, to become assimilated to their environment. The careful and impartial reader of this foreign-language press will soon realize that there is little foreign about it outside of the language. A striking illustration of this fact will be found in the attitudes assumed by the editors toward the nomination and candidacy of John W. Davis. One will quickly perceive that these newspapers are fully alive to all the issues involved, with few exceptions look at them solely from an American angle, and discuss them with a degree of understanding and clarity which will astonish those who have had the impression that this press is alien otherwise than linguistically.

Like their colleagues of the vernacular press, the editors of the foreign-language newspapers found in the Democratic convention a subject for pleasant banter, and in some cases outspoken derision. *La Prensa* (Spanish) saw in that gathering "a

sincere assembly, with opposing reactions and an air of battle" only while the Convention was debating the Klan issue. The *Freiheit* (Yiddish) refers to it as "a farce," while the *Cleveland Jewish World* (Yiddish) declares that the convention was "the greatest comedy in American political history," and that it demonstrated the utter worthlessness of this method of selecting candidates. "We do not know," writes the editor, "which method of presidential selection would be best. We know only that the time is near when the American people will be ashamed of such conventions as the one which has just ended, and will demand a healthy, human and respectable method." The obduracy of the principal aspirants for the nomination, says the *Philadelphia Jewish World* (Yiddish) "made a laughing stock of the entire proceedings. This will do Mr. Davis no good."

As for the selection of Davis, not a few of the papers express the view that this was not the result of deliberate choice but of a compromise to bring the Convention to a close. "At the last moment," says *Nowy Swiat* (Polish, New York City) "a candidate came up who was not considered seriously either at the beginning or toward the end of the convention." The really popular candidates, says *La Prensa* (Spanish, New York City) were McAdoo and Smith. "To say that the selection [of Davis] was the result of a unanimous sentiment among the delegates and Democratic opinion," this paper adds, "would be to join the chorus of the partial leaders who make up the 'machine' of the party."

The Day (Yiddish, New York City) regards the nomination as the result of desperation. "All the delegates were terribly fatigued and were genuinely ashamed of their own helplessness. They did not care any longer who was to be nominated, so long as the convention would adjourn and they could go home." The *Tageblatt* (Yiddish, New York City) puts this more bluntly: "The yells for 'Davis' by the delegates had a double implication. They meant, 'Give us a candidate and let us go home!' But this," adds the writer, "does not imply that John W. Davis is not worthy of the nomination."

In the same vein, the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* (Hungarian, New York City) says that "the Democrats could hardly have paved a better way for the commencement of the election campaign and its

ultimate goal than by unfurling the banner of John W. Davis." The *Jewish Leader* (Yiddish, Boston) declares that "John W. Davis was perhaps from the very beginning the strongest candidate the Democratic party could put up. This was realized by all, but the party leaders were first opposed to him because of his close relations with Wall Street. . . . Consequently they feared that Davis might alienate many voters in the West, where Wall Street is regarded as the devil incarnate." *Der Morgen Journal* (Yiddish, New York City), a paper which is Republican in politics, welcomes Davis' candidacy, declaring that "America will have an able and honorable chief executive regardless of which party wins."

But the same writer regards the prospects of Mr. Davis to win as very poor. "He is a conservative. . . . He does not belong to the kind of politician that becomes radical for political purposes, and will not seek to confuse anyone with phrases about progressive policies." As a result, argues this journal, LaFollette will take more voters away from the Democrats than from the Republicans. But most of the other newspapers agree with the view of the *Jewish Leader* (Boston) that "in Mr. Davis, President Coolidge will have an opponent to be reckoned with." "The campaign promises to be serious and fraught with difficulties," says *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava*. "Splendidly qualified to be President," says the *National Herald* (Greek, New York City), "John W. Davis will be able to persuade the country that 'progress in motion and government in action' will not have a more loyal servant than he, and one may confidently assert he will win." The radical papers naturally assume that Davis will have the support of the moneyed interests. Thus *Die Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Yiddish, New York City) says: "With the help of Morgan, the chances of his carrying the election will be much improved indeed." But practically all of these papers profess complete indifference as to the outcome of the election, regarding Davis as a servant of "Capital" equally with Coolidge. The *Forward* (Yiddish, New York City), a Socialist daily with over 150,000 circulation, says that the selection of Davis shows that there is no difference between the two major parties. "Coolidge is Wall Street's simpleton, Davis is Wall Street's sage," says this paper. "Both serve the same God and both will easily defeat the only disturbing man,

LaFollette," declares *Novy Swiat*, adding significantly: "We shall wait patiently—1924 may bring surprises in America, as it has in London and Paris." *Unser Journal* (Yiddish, Brooklyn), on the other hand, sees in Davis a free and untrammelled agent who received the nomination "without any promises to, or any aid from any one of the leaders," and politicians who may seek to influence him "will find a calm but a very much determined opponent to all sorts of hoodle and bargaining."

Several of the editors engage in speculation as to the probable effect of Davis' candidacy upon LaFollette's vote. As to this, there appears to be a unanimous feeling that Coolidge will get the votes of most of the conservatives among unaffiliated voters, and that Davis is not sufficiently liberal and progressive to attract the voters of these tendencies, with the result that LaFollette will be their favorite. The radical papers continually harp upon Davis' connection with J. P. Morgan and Company, the New York Telephone Company, etc., and agree with the *Volkszeitung* (German-Socialist) that "LaFollette owes thanks to the Democratic convention which has nominated Mr. Davis, for the propaganda

it has made for him [LaFollette], which will undoubtedly get him many votes." In the last analysis, however, the assumption of Davis' conservatism or reactionism is based wholly upon his having been attorney for wealthy clients. The non-partisan papers endeavor to look at both sides of this fact. Thus, *Il Progresso* (Italian, New York City) says:

Mr. Davis, it is said, is one of the many lawyers employed by Morgan, the international banker, but it is well to remember that he was also the attorney and defender of firms and individuals of every class, creed and color. Debs and "Mother" Jones were defended by Davis.

The Jewish Courier (Yiddish, Chicago) put the matter even more strongly. In working for the "Wall Street interests" Davis was working for a fee, whereas he represented Debs without compensation. Therefore, argues this paper,

If the relationship of a lawyer to his client implies that an attorney must share his client's ideas, then it would be much easier and more logical to accuse Mr. Davis of sympathizing with Socialism than with any other theory. . . . But, as a matter of fact, it is absurd to say that Mr. Davis is a Socialist or that he is in sympathy with Socialism merely because he defended Debs . . . and it is just as absurd to say that Davis is a Wall Street man merely because he handled a case for J. P. Morgan.

American Relief Work in Russia

IN THE little quarterly journal, the *World's Children* (London) Sir Philip Gibbs pays tribute to the work of the American Relief Administration in Russia:

It is only now when the work of the American Relief Administration has come to an end and its records are being written that one is able to realize, in full detail, the really prodigious achievement in charity which it accomplished in Russia during a year of famine. I saw something of that work in Russia, met the men who were in charge of it, went with some of them to the famine districts, and watched their methods with immense admiration; but in a report they have sent me I find a mass of facts revealing more closely the full extent of their service, the enormous difficulties they overcame, and the wonderful rescue they accomplished.

When they first went into Russia in 1921, in response to despairing appeals for help, the whole machinery of life in that country had broken down under the strain of war and revolution. There was, too, a good deal of suspicion against them on the part of Soviet officials who believed that the operations of the American Relief Administration might be used to destroy their authority and for political purposes. Desperately as they needed food for their people, they had the mentality of men who had been cut off from the outside world for some-

thing like four years and who were afraid of letting foreigners see the state of their country, or interfere in any way with their administration.

The railroads were in a bad state. Engines needed repair. Fuel was scarce. Trains took a month to do a four days' journey. The telegraph system did not function. Officials everywhere were overcome by a deadly lethargy and had no initiative. Owing partly to Russian temperament, and partly to political uneasiness, they could not act with any decision or energy. The workers themselves were weakened by underfeeding and stupefied by miserable conditions.

In attempting to rescue the starving children of Russia, and afterwards men and women also in the famine areas, the Americans had first to secure the confidence of the officials, then to stimulate them with energy and vitality, then to compel them to reorganize the system of transport so that supplies of food brought from the United States might be moved along the lines, then to enlist willing and capable workers to distribute the food. It was an uphill fight which for a time looked like a losing battle, and in the reports I have one can see that the American Relief men almost broke their hearts over the delays, the obstructions, the suspicions, the deadly inertia, the frightful inefficiency, the lack of facilities which they encountered. But in the end they won. Suspicion was removed by gratitude and admiration. Under their driving impetus. Russians

were actually inspired to "hustle." Engines were overhauled, roads repaired, freight cars rebuilt. Barges were launched on the rivers. The telegraph service was revived. No less than 120,000 Russians, working directly under the American Relief Administration, were taught unfamiliar business methods and revitalized with hope and energy. The "intellectuals," broken by the revolution, starving and despairing, came out of their hovels, received help, volunteered for service. And the American Relief Administration, having got things going in a country where 131 million people were actually short of food, and where 15 million at least were actually threatened by death from starvation, engineered the greatest scheme of charitable relief ever attempted in the history of the world—and carried it through. For a year they fed more than 10 million people every day, and when one thinks of the immense organization required to supply our armies in France, the vast labor involved, the transport required, it seems miraculous that all the food could be conveyed from the United States and distributed through Russia to the famine areas, with hardly any loss. Even now it seems incredible, though it is true.

Sir Philip Gibbs also describes the system of food remittances sent direct from America to individual Russians. All told, there were 1,172,401 of these food packages sent from the United States, amounting in value to more than \$10,000,000. Each standard package contained 49 pounds of flour, 25 pounds of rice, 10 pounds of sugar, 10 pounds of lard, 3 pounds of tea, 20 tins of milk. Of course the great advantage of this scheme was its direct appeal to the charity of people in the United States who had relatives in Russia. Each package contained a normal ration for three persons for one month, but undoubtedly, as Sir Philip Gibbs remarks, it was often made to go much farther than that.

It is estimated that the individual food



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COLONEL WILLIAM N. HASKELL

(Who directed relief in Russia from 1921 to 1923)

remittances, apart from the mass feeding of the Russian famine areas, were equal to rations for 12,000,000 people for a month. While the mass relief went to the starving country districts and the children, these special food remittances reached professors, students and hundreds of thousands of individual cases whose poverty was unseen, but who always were undernourished. The distribution was organized under great difficulties but succeeded nevertheless.

The Inland Republic of Paraguay

BECAUSE of her geographical position in the heart of the South American Continent, Paraguay has not been much visited by the people of the United States. Moreover, during her early history the republic was kept in isolation by the wars in which she was repeatedly engaged. Paraguay has an area of about 100,000 square miles and a population estimated at a million, or ten persons to the square mile. An informing description of the country is contributed to *Inter-America* for August by Marcel Gutiérrez. His account of the conquest of Paraguay by more powerful

nations, more than fifty years ago, is truly pathetic:

In 1865, her powerful neighbors—Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay—formed a coalition and declared war against her, and this small country maintained a war to the death for five long years, and she was conquered only after *all* the men of the country had fallen. It is the only case recorded in the history of the world in which a nation has maintained a war until she lost her last man capable of bearing arms. Paraguay displayed a heroism that no other people of the world has rivaled. When the war ended in 1870, the only males that remained in Paraguay were boys of less than fifteen and men of more than threescore years. The rest of the population consisted of females. Nevertheless.

the population of the country to-day consists of an approximately equal number of men and women.

The capital city, Asunción, on the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, is described as a modernized town with a population of about 100,000, a good system of electric street cars, electric light and an international railway that unites it with Argentina. The Paraguay River itself is a navigable stream some 1200 miles long, on which float steamboats with a mean draft of from seven to eight feet.

In general, life in Paraguay is tranquil and easy, without keen struggles or intense pleasures. The foreigner that lives there for some years adapts himself readily to the environment, to such an extent that he experiences a sense of oppression when he returns to countries that possess a denser population.

The struggle for existence in Paraguay is less sharp than in any other country with which I am personally acquainted. As there are fewer needs and greater facilities for gaining a livelihood, no one dies of hunger in Paraguay, however indolent he may be. The fruits of the country, which grow almost without cultivation, abundantly satisfy the modest needs of the inhabitants of the rural regions, and the wonderful benignity of the climate makes them relatively long-lived.

The character of the Paraguayans is, in general, somewhat cold and apathetic, as they, like the Argentines, are dwellers in the plains. They are not especially idealistic or enthusiastic, and although of Latin stock, one does not observe in them the vehemence commonly attributed to our race. [Señor Gutiérrez is a Colombian of Spanish descent.]

In respect of the industries, Paraguay has advanced with considerable rapidity, and, as an example of private initiative, genuinely Paraguayan, I mention the San Miguel shipyards, financed and managed by Paraguayans, where have been constructed several steel or iron vessels, not only for the coastwise trade, but also for the transatlantic, such as the *Amberes*, a ship built to ply between Paraguay and Europe.

There are many small industries proportionate to the size of the country: breweries, distilleries, shops and manufactories of the different products, such as the essence of *petigrain* (produced from the blossom and leaf of the orange), oils, tinned meats, et cetera. Tannin is extracted and exported. Tobacco and *hierba mate* or "Paraguay tea" (*Ilex paraguayensis*) are produced, elaborated and exported in large quantities to Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Peru and the countries of Europe. The lumber and cattle industries have assumed considerable proportions, and Paraguay now possesses two large plants for the refrigeration of meats, which rendered important service during the recent great war.

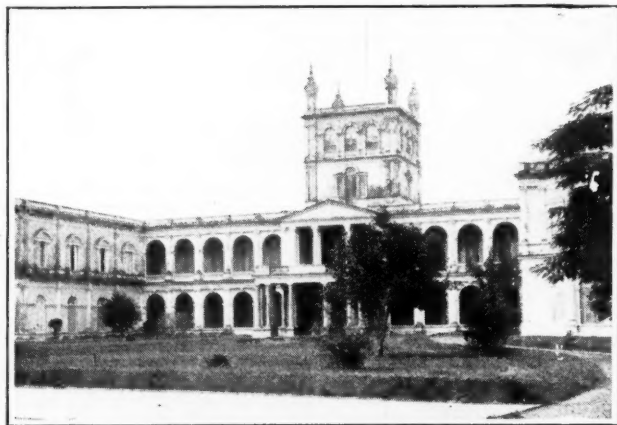
There are strong native and foreign banking institutions that possess adequate resources and maintain branches in the principal towns.

The Instituto Paraguayo, to which almost all the thoughtful men of the country belong, partakes of the nature of a club and an educational institution, and in its constitution and efficacy it resembles the Young Men's Christian Association of the United States. A few years ago the Instituto Paraguayo received a valuable library presented by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Although the material resources of Paraguay may not be compared with those of her neighbors, Argentina and Brazil, which are much wealthier and more densely populated, the country is advantageously situated in an immense hydrographic basin formed by the Paraguay, the Parana and the Pilcomayo rivers, all navigable, the first two by large vessels, and the last, only by small vessels, barges and lesser craft, but for hundreds of miles.

The country in general is level, with immense pampas, such as those that constitute the Gran Chaco, which extend between the Argentine and the Amazonian pampas of Brazil. The Paraguayan Chaco contains few civilized people. The most of the inhabitants are Guaraní Indians, of the tribes of the Maticos, Botogudas, Mataguayos, Tapietis and Tobas. North of the Gran Chaco dwell the semi-savage Choroti Indians.

The Guaraní Indians are well formed, tall and possessed of regular features. In robustness and activity, they are quite similar to the Araucanian Indians of southern Chile.



THE CAPITOL OF PARAGUAY AT ASUNCIÓN

Carrying Milk to the Cities

AN ARTICLE by Mr. Henry R. Trumbower in *Public Roads* (Washington, D. C.) reveals the remarkable extent to which the motor truck has replaced other methods of transportation in the process of supplying American cities with milk, and explains how this change has come about. The article is based on a survey made by the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads of milk transportation for the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Indianapolis. Many interesting facts are brought out concerning local phases of the business in each of the districts concerned.

Steam railroads began to compete with the horse and wagon in carrying milk to town as early as 1838. After the advent of electric interurban railroads, these also took a hand in the process. The use of motor trucks for this purpose has increased very rapidly within the last few years, until now it is far the most important method of transporting milk to all cities except the very largest. Of the eight cities studied, all except Philadelphia and Baltimore receive approximately 90 per cent. of their milk by motor truck.

For the eight cities studied a total of 633 motor trucks were engaged in the transportation of milk; 65.6 per cent. of these trucks operated within the 0-20 mile zone; 27.6 per cent. in the 30-40 mile zone; and the rest, 6.8 per cent. traveled routes 50 miles and over in length. A large part of this movement is over comparatively short distances. In a number of cities the use of the motor truck has stimulated the dairy industry in sections closer to the city because of the more convenient method of transportation.

The motor trucks engaged in this business are for the most part of the smaller capacity type; the 1 to 2-ton trucks constitute 57.1 per cent. of the total number. The trucks over 4-ton capacity amount to only 7.3 per cent. Detroit is the only city which shows a very large development in the use of the tank truck. This type of equipment is used only in connection with the transportation of milk from receiving or collecting plants in the country to the city dairies and is usually operated over fairly long routes. It is not adapted for use in connection with pick-up movements.

There is a lack of uniformity in the rates charged by the motor trucks for this service. In each city there are independent truck operators charging different rates for hauling the same distance. It is the uniform practice for the rate charged to include the return movement of empty cans. In very few cases has any attempt been made by motor-truck operators to develop return loads of

merchandise and other commodities destined for points in the country. Where railroad rates were compared with motor-truck rates it was usually found that the motor-truck rates were the same as the railroad rates or somewhat higher. Even though the truck rates are higher the tendency is to ship by motor trucks where the distances are not too great for trucks to operate. Use of the motor truck in shipping milk eliminates the city terminal transportation costs which have to be met where shipments are made by railroad. The milk producer is also saved the cost and time which is involved where he is required to take his milk to the rural railroad stations if he can ship directly from his farm by motor truck.

In the Baltimore district it is noted that milk trucks are largely of the van or enclosed type. This type complies with the rules of the city health department which require that the milk cans shall not be exposed to the sun or dust in transit.

The health department's order also requires covered loading platforms in the country where the trucks receive the milk from the farmers. These platforms are built at convenient intervals along the highway covered by the truck routes. Where it is possible one platform is built to accommodate several producers, thereby eliminating the too-frequent stopping of the truck. Trucks were at first loaded from the rear by backing up to the loading platforms and dropping down the end gate. This method was satisfactory where there was sufficient space to back the truck around, but difficulties were encountered on narrow highways. Recently the idea of a side gate or a side door in the truck body has been developed and is rapidly gaining favor with motor-truck operators because of the greater ease and saving of time in loading, and also because of the greater ease in unloading in the narrow streets and alleys adjoining the city milk plants. The use of side gates also facilitates the handling of the empty cans in connection with a return load of merchandise; the empty cans can be distributed more easily along the route without disturbing or rearranging the return load of freight. The empty cans are piled on their sides the full height of the truck at one end of the body, leaving the maximum amount of room for freight. Some of the trucks have the side gates on the right side only; others have them on both sides. Icing of milk hauled by motor trucks in the summer months has never been practiced to any great extent, although a 1½-ton truck iced during the entire summer of 1923 brought very gratifying results. The bacteria count was greatly reduced and practically no sour milk had to be returned.

In the Detroit district

there are 120 receiving stations where the milk is collected from the producers, put through a cooling process in the summer months, and shipped to the city dairies either by tank trucks or by large can trucks. There are 110 trucks engaged in this kind

of traffic, 65 of which are tank trucks. It is generally stated that there are more tank trucks engaged in the transportation of milk in the Detroit area than in any other section of the United States. The establishment of such a large number of receiving stations in this section and the transportation

of cooled milk in cans and tank trucks was largely caused by the ruling of the city health department requiring the milk to arrive at a temperature not above 60° F. The enforcement of this rule hastened the establishment of receiving stations and also the bulk method of transportation.

The Telephone Directory as a Publishing Problem

THE printing of the combined telephone directories of the Bell System is said to constitute the biggest printing job in the country, as well as one of the most highly specialized. A multitude of problems have arisen in connection with this job. How they are being worked out is described in the *Bell Telephone Quarterly* (New York) by Mr. O. C. Lyon, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Some inkling of the formidable task imposed upon the publishers of these indispensable books may be gathered from the fact that, in the whole system, about 5,000,000 listing changes are made every year. Such changes range from 15 to 50 per cent. per issue, and there are two issues a year. As the utmost efforts are made to secure accuracy, such extensive revision puts a severe strain upon the compilation organization, and various ingenious methods have been devised for minimizing both labor and errors.

Much attention has been devoted to increasing the legibility of the directories.

In the past, standard newsprint paper has been universally used in the telephone directories. During the past year special attention has been paid to the development and provision of a better grade of paper. Through a series of joint conferences with the Western Electric Company and considerable laboratory test work covering paper and printing technique and costs, including coöperation with a number of paper mills, a paper of improved color and quality has been made available for use in directories issued during the year 1924. Further studies are under way, directed to the end of providing a still better grade of paper, designed particularly to meet telephone directory service requirements.

Paper is a real factor in the cost of directory production. Approximately 30,000 tons of paper are being used annually by the System companies, from which it can readily be seen that an increase of only one or two cents per pound in the price paid for paper has a very definite effect on directory costs.

Other factors in legibility which have been the subject of a great deal of research and experiment are the style and size of

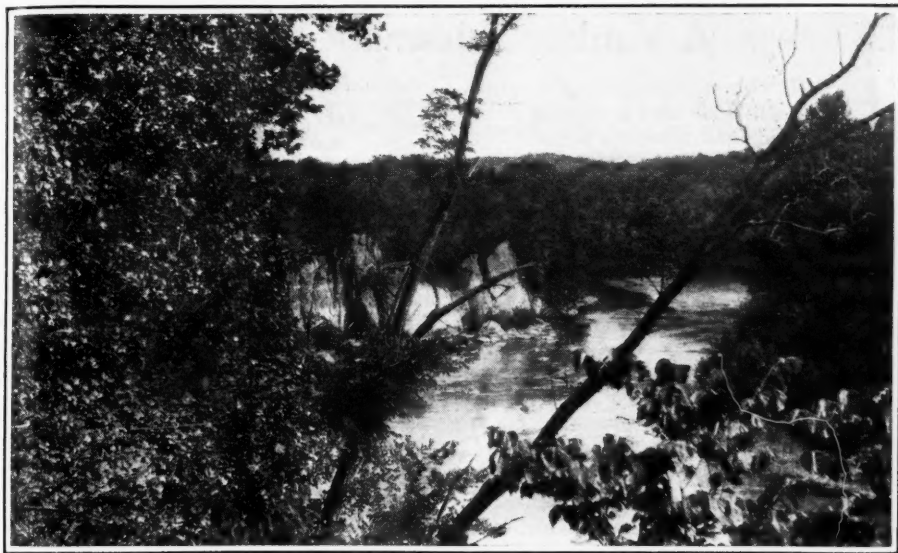
type and the spacing between listings. Several thousand tests were made in three different cities by 300 observers in arriving at the typographical features recently adopted as standard. New type faces in seven-point type have been developed for two- and three-column directories, and are now being introduced. The present six-point type has been retained for four-column books.

Developments in connection with page sizes, column widths and type faces now provide for the directories two standard page sizes, two standard column widths, and two standard type faces, which have been developed mainly from the standpoint of legibility, and it is felt they will go far in the way of increasing the ease of reference to directories on the part of the telephone-using public.

The factor of durability is very important in telephone directories. Improvement in the quality of paper has increased durability. A study is under way for the purpose of developing an improved quality of cover stock. Much has been done in improving the binding of books and more attention is being given to the durability factor. Even extreme measures in this direction would not offset many of the difficulties experienced, especially at public stations where books receive very hard usage and frequently are torn or mutilated. Many times, unintentionally or thoughtlessly, listing pages are defaced with pencil markings or groups of listings are torn out, destroying the service value of the books.

Everybody who has had experience in indexing or cataloguing knows that difficult questions arise in connection with an alphabetical arrangement of names.

Alphabetizing is one phase of directory work in which uniformity of practice is essential. Information operators have to find telephone numbers in directories from all parts of the country. Any other than a uniform method of alphabetizing would have a serious reaction on operating directory service. Furthermore, the large traveling public uses telephone directories constantly in different cities throughout the country. There is no question that telephone directories present the largest and most complicated alphabetizing problem, and a study has been made leading toward a revision of alphabetizing rules to conform with best opinion with a view to establishing a uniform practice.



VIEW ON THE POTOMAC RIVER BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND GREAT FALLS

(Much wild forest scenery like this would be included in the new park system)

Parks for the District of Columbia

IT IS a curious fact that the City of Washington had been in existence for a century before anyone gave much thought to the question of a municipal park system or park extension in and around the national capital. After the city began to grow out beyond the original boundary lines building development came into sharp conflict with the natural scenery of the outlying region, which, in its way, is unexcelled. Appeals were made to Congress to save the natural beauty of the country about Washington, but nothing was done until shortly before the adjournment of the First Session of the Sixty-eighth Congress, when a bill was passed directing that all available park sites be purchased by the Government.

The importance of this measure is dwelt upon by Earl Godwin in the August number of *American Forests and Forest Life* (Washington, D. C.). Washington now has the beautiful Rock Creek Park, Potomac Park and the Monument Grounds, but as Mr. Godwin points out, the national capital has less than one-fourth of the park property that the average American city of comparable size should own. While eighteen cities of like population have an average investment of \$22,000,000 in park property, Washington has \$5,000,000.

There are few places which offer so many splendid opportunities for conservation as the country around Washington. Conspicuous among them is the opportunity, which is really a crying need, to preserve for all time the woods and palisades of the Potomac River from Washington to Great Falls, a matter of about fifteen miles.

This is a stretch of great beauty and historic worth. There the Potomac River is at its best. The forests are a part of the great carpet of woods which cover the Appalachian range. They are the woods through which Captain John Smith prowled while he was exploring and mapping that part of the world for the first time; they are part of the forests through which the dandified General Braddock led his disciplined Red Coats to disaster against undisciplined redskins. George Washington surveyed these forests. The old canal traversing them along the riverside to Cumberland is among the very first of the public improvements made after the Constitution was signed. The Civil War surged back and forth through these woods.

The Burnham Commission twenty-three years ago recommended the purchase of fifty-three park sites, but up to last June Congress had authorized the purchase of only six of the smallest of those sites. As Mr. Godwin puts it: "It was much easier to create the Federal Reserve System, declare war on Germany, pass a tariff act, make the country dry, and impose and later modify the income tax, than it has been to deal with the matter of the conservation of nature in and around the capital."

A Yankee Salesman Abroad

THERE'S a romance about selling goods in foreign lands that is lacking in the domestic field, and although the criticism is often made that Americans have much to learn from the European about exporting, there are many examples of brilliant salesmanship abroad that show the characteristic resourcefulness and quick-wittedness of the Yankee.

Veterans in American foreign trade can tell many picturesque tales of obstacles overcome, predicaments of all kinds met, and orders "bagged," in spite of the most discouraging conditions. Latin America is a good customer of Uncle Sam for all kinds of goods and is a favorite stamping ground for American salesmen.

One enterprising member of America's far-flung commercial battle line, Mr. Bold S. Gili—who apparently lives up to his name, and whose experience in handling foreign markets and ability in winning sales has enabled him to build up a successful export department for his firm in Cincinnati—tells how he does it in an interview by Felix J. Koch in *Sales Management* for August. Mr. Gili's company is shipping great quantities of automobile parts, iron cans and pails, and many other galvanized iron products to our Southern neighbors.

Mr. Gili's first move, in selling in a foreign country, is to link up with a native salesman, even if it means sharing profits, because "there is no one can sell any man, in the end, as can his countrymen." But how does he find these men? "Easily," he says. For instance, many American wholesalers think of Mexico as still a wild and uncivilized country; but nearly every Mexican city or town has its Chamber of Commerce or the equivalent, and the secretary will always be ready to oblige with the names of persons who can help exporters from the North market their wares.

If given the task of wholesaling wares in Mexico, for instance, Mr. Gili would first familiarize himself thoroughly with the product and study how it could be adapted to the ways of consumers in that country.

"Then I should write the Chambers of Commerce to learn whether any at all similar products were being marketed in their locality; to what extent; any interesting information they might add as to the chance for more such things down there; and their recommendations for a local aide on my arrival there.

"Awaiting these replies, I would do the obvious things—prepare my samples; plan my route; arrange fiscal affairs and so on. I would query my own Department of Commerce on the wares I would sell for the various big ports. Thus I would learn if I were to fight a flooded market, or one without any real sales; because no similar wares have been offered. There is a tremendous advantage in knowing these conditions.

"Last thing of all, I would find the exact status of the Mexican dollar that I might make terms in accord. Ever since Obregon took hold in Mexico things have shown a steady progress; and to-day I urge my employers to extend payments for ninety days, the country over. We calculate the Mexican dollar at fifty-five cents in the making of rates."

Soon he is off, usually for the metropolis of his chosen field—in this case Mexico City. Then he takes his chief aide, the man who is to help him in that city, and if he finds him worthwhile, retains him for his travels about the entire country. He uses him also to instruct local aides as well as in helping to sell. Then, too, the man has friends in almost every center, and they will buy of him, whereas they might not even talk to the salesman. The native assistant is a great help in adjusting the salesman to local customs.

In selling in Latin America, says Mr. Gili, it is well to remember that the central government is an excellent prospect and that the States and other political subdivisions often follow its lead. In just one order, in a single afternoon, he sold the Republic of Mexico a thousand galvanized trash cans. The manner of it was interesting. First he used his local aide to secure introductions to the proper parties in order to reach the "higher ups." Then he gathered "the government" together and proceeded to sell them an idea.

"I secured appropriate quarters for a meeting place; and then, playing, in my invitations, on the pride Mexico took in the super-cleanliness of her capital city—I bade the proper parties concerned to honor me by attending a conference on municipal sanitation at a stated time in the stated parlor of the hotel. I managed to secure proper Federal officials, the mayor of Mexico City, and the councilmen squarely concerned.

"I talked sanitation—the crusade against the house fly we have held in the north—how the house fly was now almost extinct. I told of the dangers from typhoid, other trying diseases, saved by the simple war on the fly. I told how the covered refuse pail had dealt the flies death blows at home. I pointed out how easy it would be to pass laws requiring every householder using a trash or garbage container at all to keep this closed with a well-fitting lid!



A SHIPMENT OF ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT TO CHILE, REPRESENTING \$7,000,000

"I quickly drove home the fact that the Federal government could buy the trash receptacles in large lots and receive reductions in price; it could use what it needed for itself, and then sell others, *pro rata*, among the twenty major cities of Mexico, insuring sanitation there and yet spending nothing on these of itself."

Even now Mr. Gili's house continues to send cans of this sort to various points in Mexico, where local authorities are following the lead of the central government.

It is profitable for the salesmen to make an intensive study of shipping routes—a closer study than many of them do. It happened recently that Gili and a competitor both learned that there was a splendid field for automobile fenders of a certain type in Cuba. He arranged to ship there and then make his sales,—a method he uses when conditions press. While loitering about the shipping point,—which practice he has found advantageous on occasions—he discovered that his competitor had carload shipments of fenders consigned to one of the largest and most influential importers on the island, who would have those wares on sale with the retailers as fast as they could be distributed.

Shipments for Cuba were being delayed just then because of congestion of the harbor, not less than forty-three vessels having come in. There wasn't space for all out-bound cargoes on the docks, and so Gili's shipment, with certain others, had been taken aboard some lighters nearby. There were thirteen lighters off-pier with just such wares; and as all had their cargoes covered with cloths, it

seemed a hopeless task to locate one's own goods there.

Mr. Gili, however, recalled a fact his investigation of traffic arrangement had taught him.

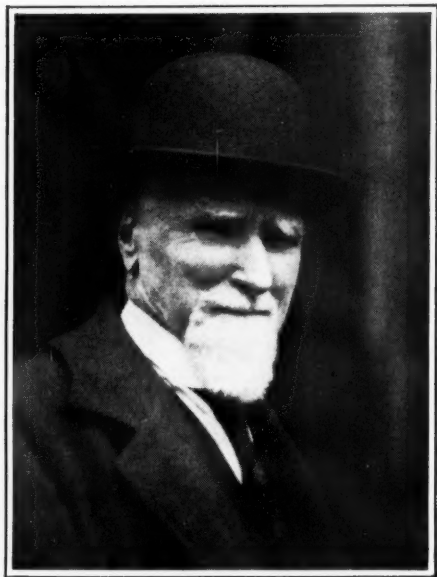
He hired men with torches, at whatsoever the cost, to go about and locate his wares on those ships. He arranged for instant release of those wares to him. He got a leading Cuban jobber on the wire—showed him what first arrivals of these goods on the island could mean to him, and sold the three carloads on the strength of this priority, then and there!

Then Gili, instead of continuing to ship by the usual all-water route to Cuba, shipped by rail to Key West and thence by boat to Havana, thus saving time.

Gili believes it pays to take particular pains with the packing for shipment, and he personally spends much time in planning forms of packing for his clients' goods. In some countries there is a duty on one kind of package, and it pleases the customer to have another form devised for him, thus saving him money. Gili also insists that his shipments be put up in packets easy to handle at the customer's end, and this has won him many favorable comments. His packing has been said even to excel that of English exporters, who are notoriously careful in this matter.

"Barring the United States," says Gili, "the Latin-American republics, Central and South America both, to-day afford the wholesale salesman, who will go in pursuit, the very best large-scale selling place in the world."

Robert Dollar, Leader in Ocean Shipping



CAPTAIN ROBERT DOLLAR

PERHAPS the most outstanding single figure in American shipping, and one of the world's leaders in marine transportation, is Captain Robert Dollar, founder of the famous Dollar Line of steamships. Starting with one vessel, which he purchased to carry his own lumber to China, his carrying trade has developed—according to David S. Kennedy, in an article in *Export Trade*—until now his company owns and operates eighteen steamers and seven sailing vessels—besides tugs, launches, and lighters—all but four of which are under the American flag. His round-the-world passenger line and his Chinese river steamers are two services that are unparalleled.

Robert Dollar's life story, from the time he left Scotland as a lad of fourteen with his father, is a record of daring adventures and brilliant achievements. Coming to Canada, just before the outbreak of the Civil War, his first job was feeding a lathe at 60 cents a week. He worked in a lumber shanty as a chore boy and cook, using his spare time to acquire an education, and won promotion to a clerkship.

At twenty-eight he started in the lumber business with a partner, but soon ran on the rocks. Ten years later he ventured again

into the lumber business in Michigan, and prospered. Eleven years afterward, in 1893, he opened a lumber mill in California. The start of his steamship career came in 1901, when he was fifty-seven years old. His original purpose as a ship owner was simply to transport his own goods and incidentally to explore the trade possibilities of the East. He opened an office in Shanghai for West-bound business and developed a trade in oak railroad ties for the Southern Pacific. Out of this beginning developed the Dollar trans-Pacific, coastal, and globe-girdling services, with branch offices in many of the principal ports of the world.

With seven liners purchased from the Shipping Board, Captain Dollar early this year struck out on an unchartered path and launched the first round-the-world passenger and freight service. The originality of the enterprise caught the imagination of the shipping world, and his courage in carrying it through, despite the drawbacks of operating vessels under U. S. registry, won him high praise.

Captain Dollar believes that the greatest increase of trade in the future will be on the Pacific, and that the Orient will become Uncle Sam's best customer. This belief and his pioneering courage are illustrated in his opening up of the Yang-tse-Kiang River. Foreign trade had for many years been ascending the river for 600 miles to Hankow, and river steamers had penetrated as far as I-chang, 893 miles. Beyond this point are the dangerous gorges, with the current rushing for sixty miles over sharp rocks, between high cliffs, and with a channel only 200 feet wide. In 1920 Captain Dollar pushed his small river steamers, flying the American flag, up to Chung-Kiang, 1215 miles above Shanghai, with both passengers and cargo. This pioneering feat, involving battles with native bandits and guerilla militia, is one of the romantic achievements of shipping history. This is the only American Line in the Chinese and Japanese coast trade.

Captain Dollar is now more than eighty years old, still hale and hearty, and looks on hard work as a recreation. The Captain has a gentle appearance that does not fully reveal his rugged character and sturdy fighting qualities. While not opposed to

labor organizations, he would not tolerate their interference with his business:

Six years ago the labor unions tied up the port of San Francisco, and when the Dollar Line tried to load and discharge its ships the strikers sent one or two of the workers to the hospital every day in an ambulance. Local judges consistently released those who were arrested for violence. This had gone far enough, in Captain Dollar's opinion. He was one of the leaders in the Vigilance Committee which set out with the purpose of sending two strikers to the hospital with every wounded worker, and threatened the district attorney with the hanging post if he failed to execute the law without favor. The strike broke up shortly afterward, and San Francisco is now an open-shop locality.

Early in his steamship career, Captain Dollar was identified chiefly with vessels flying the British flag. Since the war he has turned his attention more to American vessels. His words and deeds both bear

eloquent testimony to his ambition for the development of the American merchant marine to its old-time eminence. He has risked his fortune in blazing the way to distant ports, leaving other American ship owners to hug the shores or trade with the nearby West Indies and Caribbean points.

Captain Dollar has never asked for a government subsidy, protective duties, preferential railroad rates or other forms of artificial assistance. He has urged on numerous occasions, however, that Congress repeal repressive legislation and remove the burdens that have been saddled upon American shipping by law or practice. It may be said in this connection that other American owners disagree with him, and point out that his policy would result in the employment of foreign crews, the construction of ships in foreign shipyards, the placing of repair contracts abroad, and that the merchant fleet would be American in ownership only, without the development of American shipyards and crews.

The Anti-American Agitation in Japan

FOR some time there has been in process in Japan a boycott of goods imported from the United States, in retaliation for the action of our Congress in the passage of the immigration law. Although Japanese statesmen very generally resent the enactment of this law, the boycotting movement seems to lack substantial or enthusiastic support. The *Japan Chronicle* (Kobe) says in a recent issue:

As might have been anticipated, the most striking feature of the boycott has been the passionate eagerness of those who had something to gain by it. The cinematograph people have been the most active. Japanese movie companies produce a great many films, of undoubted popularity, yet the superior technique and novelty of the American films make "Foreign Films" a specially attractive notice at any Japanese cinematograph hall. It is just in a matter like this, however, where crowds of people can be appealed to, that there is a chance of exploiting their patriotism in order to get them to take something that they only like moderately instead of the film that they would really prefer. Of course, the cinematograph theater people hate the idea. If it has to be, the *katsuben* will be instructed to use their utmost eloquence in the good cause, but meanwhile the theater owners would like to

dodge the boycott. They plead contracts in which they have had to put down money in advance, but in the Kwanto district they are said to have been rushed into a promise to start the boycott on the 27th. In the Kwansai they are more cautious. They make the same plea, but with more force, and at the time of writing have not consented to any date. So long as the date is put a good way ahead, they do not mind promising. For if the boycott were a really popular movement, audiences would not look at the American films, and it would not pay to show them, however much had been laid out on them. To assign a future date for the boycott is therefore ridiculous, and only means that if it is really to be enforced by that time, it will be through



AN ANTI-AMERICAN SIGN IN A KOBE SHOP WINDOW

(This sign was removed by the Japanese police)

sheer propaganda of the interested parties—not from any popular indignation against America.

A smaller, but still noticeable import from America which the patriotic boycotters have marked down for their prey is gramophone records. Here, too, there is a Japanese substitute, which can be pushed if the drum is whacked sufficiently loud. Of either the sensational cinema films or the trivial music of the bulk of the gramophone records, it might seem ridiculous to say that they have an educational value; yet as a matter of fact they have, and the cinema and the gramophone have spread a knowledge throughout the Japanese public of many things Western. It is a mixed sort of knowledge, and much better things might have been done with the opportunity that offered, but a part of the pleasure in the "movies" is the pleasure of learning of new and strange things, while the gramophone ministers to an awakened thirst for music of the Western kind, which is so much richer in every way than any of the Oriental varieties. No propaganda of interested patriotism will stand long against the desire for knowledge, vulgarized as much of it may be.

It has been pointed out that these patriotic advocates of home-made films and discs depend entirely on America for the materials of their trade. Naturally they say nothing about this. All that can be done in the way of a boycott is to urge people not to use obviously American articles, and these are generally trifling things. Hence we find the campaign that has taken for its main lines films and discs, peters out lamely with soaps and powders. Patriotic panderers and bullies address assemblies of hired women exhorting them to punish America and use non-American perfumes and cosmetics, and the thing is reported in the press as an expression of the determination of a great nation. As for things that are not obviously American, Japan is already committed to taking \$150,000,000 worth of reconstruction materials on the long credit represented by the recent loan, and a big order with the Westinghouse Company has just been recorded. Doubtless other countries could supply Japan's

needs, but at the present time America is the only country that can afford sufficient credit. A vigorous campaign by Japanese interests might cause shopkeepers to keep American groceries at the back of the shop, but a manufacturer who needs an American machine for his work or who needs American iron and steel as his raw material can not afford to listen to the patriots, and would be only doing his country an injury if he did. The crowd does not generally see the really important articles of commerce, and when it does, it has to shut its eyes, as when patriots scour round the town on American motor cars to tell everybody that they must not use American goods—surely one of the most absurd features in a campaign that is 99 per cent. humbug in any case.

In considering the demand that citizens of Japan should not purchase American goods, the Kofu Chamber of Commerce has pointed out that a boycott would not only exclude many imports essential for Japan's welfare, but that if it were followed by reprisals, would spell ruin for the silk industry of Japan and other industries depending upon it.

The *Japan Chronicle* concludes its article with this satirical paragraph:

Such is the great Boycott. It is a very poor show. There is no life in it. They do things much more effectively in China. It has been allowed to run on, apparently in the hope that it would impress America with a due sense of the intensity of public feeling in Japan, but it is to be feared that it will have exactly the opposite effect. Of the shopkeepers who have stuck up notices, it would be difficult to discover what they had to lose. It is easier to see that they had a flair for notoriety. The whole thing, in fact, has been merely an advertising stunt.

Three Little "White Indians"

A VAST amount of interest was roused both in scientific circles and among laymen a few weeks ago by the announcement that an engineer, Mr. Richard O. Marsh, had brought back from the wilds of the Panama region three little "White Indians," two lads and a girl, all in their "teens," but unrelated to one another.

The very term "White Indians" suggests romance and mystery. Were these pale-skinned savages descendants, perchance, of some hardy band of Norsemen, who, making their way across the stormy waters of the Atlantic untold centuries ago, had somehow kept their Nordic blood unmixed with the Mongoloid strains about them? Or were they the scanty remnant of some

strange pre-Nordic race as yet unknown to ethnologists—even, perhaps, tracing their ancestry back to the men and women of the lost Atlantis? The children were comfortably installed at the Waldorf-Astoria, and the elect of science were bidden to dine with them, amid scenes which must have bewildered them in spite of their apparent stoic indifference—in fact they probably felt as pitilessly bereft of privacy as the proverbial gold-fish, and we are glad to learn that they were soon afterward taken to a camp in the mountains to recuperate from the shock of too sudden a plunge into the excitements of civilization.

But to leave the personal for the scientific side of the matter, the learned authorities

who examined them decided that instead of belonging to a separate race they are in reality merely albinos. We quote from a report prepared for the official records of the American Museum of Natural History by the members of the anthropological staff:

There is some slight pigment in both the hair and the eyes, hence they are not complete albinos. But this is the most frequent type of human albinism. If it is a disease it is not a new one, nor one confined to the tropics.

This statement refers to the fact that the children have tow-colored hair and blue eyes, instead of the white hair and pink eyes of the true albino. The most remarkable feature of the case is that Mr. Marsh found some 400 cases within a comparatively small area—a percentage hitherto unprecedented, since the normal ratio is one albino in a population of 10,000.

They are typical Indians of this type except in two respects—there is a very great diminution of pigment and their heads are a trifle shorter and higher.

One boy was ten, one fourteen, and the girl fourteen. Their heads were about normal in size for their ages. The heads were relatively shorter and higher than those of the adults.

In this respect it must be noted that most of the adults had heads artificially deformed by practices of the cult of beauty, since when a child is born the old women of the tribe massage its head to improve its looks!

While the effect is not marked, the frontal regions of the heads, and to a lesser degree the vertexes,



THE THREE "WHITE INDIAN" CHILDREN BROUGHT TO NEW YORK BY RICHARD O. MARSH FROM THE SAN BLAS COUNTRY OF PANAMA

seem to be abnormally lower and flat. The heads of the albino children seem to be normal, undeformed heads. At least they are not deformed in the frontal region. It is just possible that the albinos are not subjected to the same treatment as normal babies, since the albino population is despised and ostracized by the rest of the Indians.

Interest in the San Blas Indians, should center on the fact that there are said to be 400 albino Indians in a fairly restricted area. This is the only unique thing about the condition.

Curing Colds With Chlorine Gas

AT LEAST forty-two persons out of every hundred, it is said, suffer from colds every year, and it is welcome news to learn that one of the poison gases of the war has been turned to the service of man in the constructive work of ridding us of such a prevalent affliction. *Popular Science Monthly* (New York) publishes an article by Robert E. Martin, relating his experience in taking the chlorine treatment, which is being extended to such diseases as acute bronchitis laryngitis, whooping cough, and influenza.

The chlorine treatment is simple. You simply remain in one small room for an hour. In the case of the government clinics at Washington, the tediousness has been relieved by providing books,

magazines, and newspapers. Also the development of a portable apparatus by means of which chlorine can be administered to a single patient permits a sufferer to rest comfortably in his own home or office while undergoing treatment. Despite the fact that chlorine was used as a war weapon, there is no reason why the most nervous person should fear to take the treatment. It would require about 100 times the strength of chlorine that is used in the treatment before there would be danger in breathing the gas.

When the patients are seated, a valve is opened, and a small amount is fed from a glass cylinder containing chlorine in liquid form. An ordinary electric fan beside the inlet pipe circulates it through the room. When the treatment ends, all the chlorine-bearing air is driven out by fans.

The apparatus consists of a small glass cylinder, capable of holding a little more than a quart of liquid chlorine. When a valve at the top is opened, chlorine escapes through rubber tubing to a glass



BRIG.-GEN. JAMES A. FRIES (LEFT), CHIEF OF THE CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE, U. S. A., AND LIEUT.-COL. H. L. GILCHRIST, CHIEF OF THE MEDICAL DIVISION

(Colonel Gilchrist is shown operating the valve which permits liquid chlorine, held in the glass cylinder below to escape into a salt solution at the left and thence to be syphoned into the adjoining chamber, where sufferers from colds are undergoing treatment)

cylinder filled with a salt solution. Thence a simple siphon causes the chlorine to pass in jets into the room through glass piping.

A single treatment—enough for seven persons simultaneously—costs about six cents.

This wholesale treatment of colds by a system of public medicine looks like the

beginning of a new era in the treatment of disease.

Mr. Martin agrees with Colonel Gilchrist that there is no excuse now for a person to have a cold. One hour in the chlorine chamber when the cold is first felt coming on will cure it. Edgewood Arsenal, Md., has tested out the treatment very carefully and perfected it for general use at the medical division of the Chemical Warfare Service in the Munitions Building at Washington, D. C., and in the public health clinics at New York, Chicago, and other large cities. Only five per cent. of patients treated failed to show improvement, these being afflicted with chronic nasal catarrh, which prevented access of the chlorine to the parts affected. Experiments with "epinephrin," a drug which shrinks swollen catarrhus membranes, will soon determine whether this class of cases also can be cured. The chlorine is not effective in hay fever or asthma, and does not cure tonsillitis, tuberculosis, or pneumonia; but experiments with other poison gases are being made to see if tuberculosis and pneumonia can be cured with this remarkable form of medicine. It marks a new step in treating respiratory diseases.



INTERIOR OF THE CHLORINE CHAMBER OF THE MEDICAL DIVISION, CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(At the extreme right is a window through which the physicians administering the treatment may observe the patients)

German Wages and Export Trade

HOW will the settlement of the reparations question affect Germany's production costs, and her chances for competing successfully in the export field? Her ability to pay presupposes an ability to market a large proportion of her products abroad and to accumulate a favorable balance. With a general subsidence of many of the abnormal handicaps now burdening Germany, will foreign manufacturers have need to be concerned for fear that Germany may again become formidable in foreign trade?

The conclusion of Mr. R. C. Miller, Assistant Chief of the Western European Division of the Bureau of Foreign & Domestic Commerce, as stated in *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.), is that for a long time Germany will probably be a less dangerous competitor than in pre-war days, and the wage element will play a considerable part in holding down her competitive ability. The cost of her labor has been one of the chief factors in determining Germany's advantages in competition. Relatively low wages, aided by government protection and subsidies, were a prime source of strength in underbidding foreign manufacturers. Because of its influence on the cost of labor, the spread between the internal and external buying power of the mark has been a dominating factor in the German export situation.

While the mark was rapidly declining, its depreciated value was felt immediately in the prices paid the manufacturer by foreign buyers, while on the other hand wage adjustments to each fresh decline were not immediate, and thus the manufacturer profited considerably, at least on paper, especially when the drop in the mark was pronounced and rapid. Except in products requiring large amounts of foreign raw materials, Germany was able until the close of last year to withstand almost any competition. Realizing their wage cost advantages, German manufacturers concentrated largely on such articles as toys, novelties, cutlery, clocks, lamps, china and porcelain ware, and laces, all of which products absorbed a large amount of labor.

Germany has passed through many phases of wage fluctuation. Early in the year, when the mark was dropping rapidly

though somewhat regularly, wage increases followed the declines of the mark at a sufficient interval to profit the manufacturer, with a favorable effect on his foreign sales. But as the fall of the mark continued rapidly, prices within Germany began to be pushed up faster and faster, with the result that demands for wage increases became more insistent, and thus the manufacturer's profit on the lag between the currency decline and the wage increase became less and less. By the middle of 1923 the situation became even more unfavorable for the German manufacturer. Prices rose in anticipation of currency declines and wages felt the effects immediately. Labor interests also attempted to secure adoption of a scheme for the automatic adjustment of wages to the cost of living. These conditions, together with the increasing difficulty of purchasing raw foreign materials, greatly curtailed the German exporter's ability to sell at low prices.

Another peculiar phase of labor conditions was the drawing together of the wage levels of the skilled and unskilled workers. Unskilled labor not only more closely approached the pre-war scale, but closely approximated the wages of skilled labor. Organized labor has vigorously opposed any attempt to widen the wage difference between these two classes, arguing that German wages as a whole usually represented less than a minimum existence wage. With wages nearly similar for both skilled and unskilled labor, long apprenticeships for skilled labor were not attractive to young men, and this condition, combined with the war casualties among skilled workers, produced a shortage damaging to industry.

Against the argument of labor that substantial wage increases were just and necessary, industry contended that the wage element in costs must continue to be kept below world levels if German participation in foreign markets is to be maintained. Furthermore, that unemployment could cease only with a reduction in production costs, and that work and profits could be insured only by an increase in exports with a decrease in price. But exports could not increase except with increased production at a cheaper rate, made possible by increasing working hours.

Hence arose the agitation for an increase in the working day, which by the decrees of November 13, 1918, and March 18, 1919, had been established on an eight-hour basis. Labor's bitter fight to retain this war-won boon was considerably weakened by unemployment and adverse industrial conditions, and the decree of December 21, 1923, granting numerous exceptions to the eight-hour day, was the result.

While it is expected that in the near future Germany will again bid actively for foreign markets, German manufacturers have since the beginning of the year cultivated home sales.

Since the beginning of the present year extremely high internal prices, coupled with the return of some degree of purchasing power on the part of the German people as a result of the stability of the rentenmark, have caused manufacturers to concentrate on home markets, while foreign markets have been largely ignored. This tendency was particularly exemplified at the Koenigsberg (February 17-21) and Leipzig (March 2-8) fairs, from which it was reported that domestic orders were unusually brisk but foreign buying was almost nil, due to the fact that German prices were above world market levels.

As the existing difficulties due to credit conditions, raw material costs, rates, taxes, etc., become less, the wage element in

costs will probably move upward. A period of stable currency—which may be expected to follow in the wake of a reparations settlement—also has a tendency to produce wage increases. Another impetus to wage increases is the fact that rent restrictions are being removed.

Of the 28.80 marks, which in 1913 was the total minimum expenditure per week of a Berlin family, 5.50 marks were paid for rent. In December, 1923, the corresponding figure was 30.85 marks, only 1.10 marks of which was paid for rent. According to legislation, rents are to be gradually moved up until the pre-war level is reached in October in this year, and this increase will call for larger outlays in the family budgets. Furthermore, the many aids which are given labor by the Government, such as unemployment funds, low transportation charges, etc., are being decreased as the Government is trying to put itself on a sounder financial basis.

While the return to a longer working day will represent some advantage to the German manufacturer, the writer of the article concludes that his competitive ability will be adversely affected by having to pay more wages and by the shortage of skilled labor, and that, in general, he will be in a less favorable position, from a labor standpoint, than he was in before the war.

The Advent of Rain Insurance

"THE public refuses to get wet," says Dr. Andrew H. Palmer, writing in *Tycos-Rochester* (Rochester, N. Y.). "Patronage of most outdoor and of many indoor events is largely dependent upon the weather, and rainfall is the determining element." Hence rain is a serious hazard in a great variety of business undertakings, especially, but not exclusively, those connected with amusement. Very recently it has become possible in this country to eliminate this hazard by means of rain insurance.

Though established for a good many years in England, this kind of insurance was, says the writer, introduced over here in 1919 by an English company, and taken up by American companies the following year. At present thirty companies in the United States are writing rain insurance, and the premiums for 1924 are expected to reach \$10,000,000. Last year they amounted to \$4,500,000.

Practically all companies writing rain insurance

in the United States are members of a conference known as The Rain Insurance Association. Office headquarters and a staff of employees are maintained in New York City. The affairs of the association are conducted by committees made up of the representatives of all the insurance companies participating in the conference. Considerable time and money have been spent by the association gathering rainfall data for the whole United States; additional time and money have been spent in a scientific determination of rates. All companies participating in the conference use the same rates and are governed by the same rules and regulations. Though the business is competitive, there is close cooperation between the various companies. Moreover, they work in harmony in the matter of reinsurance.

Rain insurance applies generally to outdoor events and business, such as county and state fairs, baseball and football games, beach concessions, aviation meets, amusement parks, boat races, boat excursions, circuses, field and track meets, golf matches, tennis matches, gas-filling stations, live-stock sales, parades, picnics, outings, refreshment stands, horse races, summer-resort hotels, carnivals, lawn fêtes, celebrations, rodeos, etc. It is primarily intended for enterprises whose expected income is lost or diminished by rainy weather. The expenses of such events may also be used to determine insurable interest, which must

invariably be shown by the applicant; the amount of insurance granted is based on previous experience as to income and expense.

While rain insurance was originally intended for outdoor events, it has recently been extended to indoor events, such as mercantile or retail store sales, basketball games, conventions, cafés, church fairs, bazaars, dances, exhibitions, expositions, theaters, prize fights and wrestling matches.

Unlike fire insurance, rain insurance does not cover damage to property, but only indemnifies for loss of income or expense incurred. The coverage applies only during hours in which rainfall affects a risk, the usual period being six to eight hours. As a rule a definite minimum amount of rainfall within the specified period is stated in the policy; e.g., 0.1 or 0.2 inch. The rates for a policy covering 0.2 inch are one-third less than for 0.1 inch. Events likely to be abandoned because of rain may be insured under an abandonment form, which does not require a measurement of the exact amount of rainfall.

Where a rain insurance contract is based upon a stipulated amount of rain occurring between specified hours, definite arrangements must be made by the insured for ascertaining measure of rainfall during the period of time covered. Wherever possible, a U. S. Weather Bureau observer is designated to determine the amount of rainfall.

The U. S. Weather Bureau maintains regular, first-class stations in about 200 cities. At all of these stations there are in use automatic, self-recording rain gauges which indicate the times and the amounts of rainfall. These amounts are tabulated for each hour by the Bureau as part of the official weather record, which is available for public use without charge. In addition, the Weather Bureau maintains cooperative or secondary stations in about 4,500 cities and towns.

These stations are also equipped with standard

rain gauges, but as the latter are not automatic or self-recording, definite arrangements must be made with the cooperative observer in advance of the period covered by the rain insurance policy, in order that he may measure the rainfall during the period covered. As the cooperative observer receives no compensation from the government for his work, he is entitled to a fee for special service, and the same must be paid by the insured.

Where no Weather Bureau observer is available, the company writing the policy will loan a standard rain gauge if application is made to home office in ample time to forward gauge by express. In a case of this kind the insured and the company's agent jointly select a competent person to guard and read gauge during term of policy. The Rain Insurance Association has also gathered at great expense a list of trained and competent rain gauge readers throughout the United States; these individuals may be called upon to serve as readers on short notice when the Weather Bureau record cannot be used, or when there is no cooperative station near the event insured.

The losses sustained by companies writing rain insurance are of the kind known to the profession as "conflagration losses," that is, they are either very large or very small. During 1921 and 1922 most companies writing rain insurance in the United States lost money; during 1923 profits and losses were about equal.

If scientific methods are employed, there is no good reason why this kind of insurance should not be as profitable as other forms. From the experience of companies writing this line of business during the past three years, however, it is evident that improved systems of operation and more scientific methods must be employed before rain insurance can be considered a permanently established success.

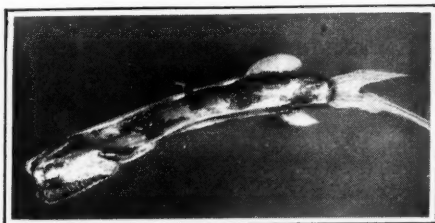
Companies writing rain insurance find that this line of business is a fertile source of increasing the number of agents in other lines, particularly fire insurance. For this reason a company can afford to accept small profits on rain insurance provided that it is a means of increasing other income. No agents are permitted to write rain insurance exclusively.

How Living Creatures Produce Cold Light

ONE of the most fascinating problems in the world of nature has long been the method by which certain animals manufacture light without producing heat at the same time, as mankind has been forced to do in the production of artificial light. Naturally there is an enormous saving of energy thus achieved and one of the most dazzling hopes of the future is that men may be able some day to emulate such lowly creatures as the firefly and the jelly fish in this respect.

The actual chemical process employed by living creatures has in fact been discovered by the brilliant French physiolo-

gist, M. Raphael Dubois, of the University of Lyons. As far back as 1887, Professor Dubois was awarded the Grand Prize in physical sciences for his work upon Luminous Elaterids. In *La Nature* (Paris) for March 1, 1924, Professor Dubois gives some account of his work both then and since. He begins by stating that by means of an extremely sensitive thermo-electric battery, which he was able to make use of in the Physical Laboratory of the Sorbonne, he demonstrated that in the spectrum of the light from certain large tropical insects there were only infinitesimal traces of heat.



American Museum of Natural History

DEEP-SEA FISH FROM GULF OF GUINEA—
SIDES OF HEAD LUMINOUS



FISH WITH LIGHTED PORTHOLES, SO TO SPEAK

These Pyrophora possess three lanterns, two upon the thorax corselet and one beneath the abdomen, which emit a magnificent light rivaling that of the day, and infinitely superior to that of our best artificial lights. The precision of my experimental results were confirmed later by the aid of a bolometer by the two eminent American physicists, Langley and Vary.

We know that the amount of energy radiated from any source of light consists of two parts, one representing the energy of luminous rays and the other that of dark rays, but experiment showed that in the light of the pyrophora the chemical energy represented by the dark radiation amounted to only 1-5000 of the total energy and that the calorific energy was so slight as to be almost nil.

M. Dubois adds that at about the same time he discovered also in the luminous organs of this tropical beetle a fluorescent substance called by him pyro-fluorescein, whose office it is to transform certain dark radiations into the luminous radiations characteristic of fluorescence, and he remarks that it was doubtless this discovery which suggested the use of fluorescent substances to diminish the injurious effects and augment the illuminating power of mercury lamps. He waxes eloquent upon the marvelous efficiency of the pyrophora, saying:

The expense of the materials employed to furnish the luminous energy is almost negligible, for one of these insects can live for weeks flashing the beams of its tiny but powerful light-house every evening on merely a few drops of sugared water. This is not only because the illuminating energy is very feeble, but is also due to the fact that the photogenic organism is capable of self-regeneration by means of a reverse action in the substances which act upon each other to produce the light—in other

words, it is exactly as if one of our kerosene lamps were capable of regenerating the oil it consumed. Like the phoenix physiological life is reborn in its own ashes! What a marvelous lesson this tiny creature spreads before our eyes and how far inferior are our poor artifices to the works of nature.

Here, then, we have a magnificent light which costs almost nothing and which requires none of the ruinous, complicated, cumbrous, dangerous mechanisms with which we are afflicted. We may add that here is a light which fears neither wind nor rain, from which there is no danger of sunstroke and which causes no fading of colors; moreover, it is admirably adapted to the needs of our eyes, for it is almost entirely composed of the middle rays of the spectrum.

We need not fear either electrocution nor being set on fire by this light since it cannot even incommode us by its heat—is it not then the ideal light which we must take as our model for the illumination of the future? While it is true that I have sought to attain this ideal on a commercial basis, what has really sustained me throughout long years of research has been the desire to penetrate as nearly as maybe the sources of that which we call Life. . . . In 1900 I invented a living lamp which met with great success at the Universal Exposition, where I succeeded in illuminating the subcellars of the palace of optics as if by bright moonlight; but my living lamp can be used only in places where the eye is accustomed to obscurity as in mines, or to avoid explosions as in powder mills. It would have to be doubled in power in order to meet the ordinary purposes of a lamp and could this be done all other methods of illumination would be abandoned.

Professor Dubois remarks that this problem may some day be solved, since while the light of a dead pyrophora resembles mere moonlight in the living insect it is not eclipsed by daylight itself. This proves that there is some method of intensifying the chemical action. This chemical action he has demonstrated to be due to two chemical substances which are designated *luciferase* and *luciferine*. The former of these is an oxidizing ferment while the latter is an oxidizable substance. These two when mixed together in the presence of water produce a luminous glow, which is due to an oxidizing action. By the reduction of the oxidized substances the luciferine can be regenerated and the cycle will be recommenced. He closes his article by paying a tribute to American investigators, including Ives, Coblenz, and McDermott, and especially to Professor Newton Harvey of Princeton, whose experiments with a luminous crustacean from Japan as well as other luminous animals and photobacteria he considers especially valuable. He quotes Professor Harvey as saying: "There is absolutely no doubt of the existence of luciferase and luciferine and the possibility of separating these two substances."

New Biological Studies of Hunger

THE subject of hunger is one of universal interest among young and old, among the savage and the civilized. But only in the last few years have extensive researches been made to discover the precise biological effect produced in living creatures—for plants as well as animals can suffer from hunger—by periods more or less prolonged of fasting. Some of the more important results of these investigations are summarized in an article entitled "Hunger: a Biological Study," by Hans Welten, in a late number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart).

This writer remarks that the word hunger has two significations—the not unpleasant stimulation of the appetite, and a greater or less degree of inanition affecting the entire body. The latter state is accompanied by various phenomena, such as a feeling of faintness, muscular weakness, a painful sensation in the stomach, hunger headache, and even the loss of appetite. It is only the first stages of hunger which stimulate the appetite, he tells us, these being followed by the disappearance of the desire to eat or even by an actual aversion to food. In still later stages mental disturbances, the so-called starvation delirium, may appear. In advanced stages the muscles refuse to do any work, the secretions are lessened in amount and the mucous membranes consequently become dry. Fainting spells and loss of consciousness ending in death may ensue.

The length of time during which absolute starvation may continue before death occurs varies in an extraordinary degree, according to the amount of fat stored up and the age and constitution of the victim. Children and young animals of active metabolic processes cannot endure hunger as long as adults, who can hold out on the average during a fast of eight or ten days, or much longer if water be taken. In certain mental troubles, especially melancholia, in which state food is often refused, it is observed that the sufferer may last from thirty to forty days.

The author instances the late Dr. Tanner as showing that this power of going without food can be increased by training and refers to the Italian painter Merlatti, who is said to have gone for fifty days without food, but who drank filtered water and smoked daily a number of cigars. He adds that

during the late war soldiers observed the sustaining power of tobacco when obliged to endure the lack of food.

Birds are much less able to bear hunger than men, often standing it only for a few days; horses can go two weeks without food and well-nourished dogs as much as five weeks; but cold blooded vertebrates, especially amphibians and reptiles, can live without food for a year or longer. A singular phenomenon observed during prolonged starvation in insects and other animals is the acceleration of the process of changing their form known as metamorphosis. As far back as 1887 Barfurth showed that the transformation of tadpoles is hastened when they are allowed to go hungry. He was of the opinion that the tissues which are superfluous after the metamorphosis takes place and which must, therefore, be absorbed by the organism, are more quickly exhausted when the animal is hungry, since they then serve, like reserves of fat, to nourish the body. . . . Observation shows that the limbs of the animal develop some little time before they are able to break through the skin which covers them, and the sooner the thinning of the skin occurs the sooner they can break through. This thinning is caused by the absorption of the elements of the cutis and hunger naturally hastens this process.

It is recognized that there are other possible factors involved, especially the possibility that the starving animal is impelled to bring the larval stage to an end as soon as possible, so as to assume its adult form and proceed to the task of reproduction. Apropos of this, he refers to some extensive biological studies reported by Krizenecky in an article in the *Biologische Zentralblatt*, from which he quotes the following paragraph:

Every living creature is governed by two fundamental instincts—the preservation of self and the preservation of the species. For the first purpose the organism requires food and the necessary metabolism; for the second it requires the production of generative cells. . . . When through unfavorable conditions, such as hunger, the life of the individual is menaced, the second instinct takes the primary place in the endeavor to assure the continued existence of the species. From this point of view the acceleration of the metamorphosis and the early maturity of the generative organs through the influence of hunger operates as a purposeful reaction of the organism in the interest of the maintenance of the species.

The writer holds these views of Krizenecky to be supported by many other phenomena among animals. For example, the transformation of insect larvæ can be accelerated by depriving them of food.

It is obvious that such observations are capable of extensive practical application in the breeding of plants and animals.

News from Nature's World

A Strange Marine Animal Without a Head

THERE is a curious little creature which has a backbone, to be sure, and which therefore must be regarded as a vertebrate, but has no head. Moreover, it has neither legs nor pairs of fins. It has a mouth, however, placed at one end, which therefore may be called the head end of the body. It has a stomach, a very simple form of liver, and another simple organ which takes the place of a heart, since it is capable of contracting and thus forcing the blood, which is quite colorless, forward to the area of the gills, where it is purified. It has a spinal cord, but this is not surrounded by a backbone. Since it has neither eyes nor ears, it is not surprising that its brain remains undeveloped. In fact, it is hard to tell any difference between the brain and the spinal cord at one end of which it is found.

This little creature, called the lancelet, or amphioxus, is slender and pointed at both ends and is not very easy to see, since it is almost transparent and is only from an inch and one-half to two and one-half inches in length. It lives in shallow water and likes to stick its head end into the sand, into which it burrows with great rapidity. It appears to be quite happy in this position, remaining thus for a long time with its tail end sticking out. When on the surface of the water it lies on its side. While it can neither see nor hear, there is reason for believing that it possesses the senses of smell and taste. Its eggs are laid about sunset and the larva hatches out early the next morning. Sometimes the lancelets arrange themselves end to end as if they were playing some sort of a game. In such a case they present a peculiar, serpentine appearance.

Puffer Fish

The puffer fishes, sometimes called globe fishes, have a curious way of protecting themselves when they are menaced with danger. They are capable of inflating the belly until it is nearly spherical, so that they look like big rubber balls or toy balloons. When thus inflated their specific gravity is of course very low so that they float on the surface of the water. However, if the pursuer chases a puffer regardless of consequences and gobbles him up, so much the

worse for the captor, since the flesh of nearly all these globe fishes is poisonous. Sometimes in curiosity shops along the water's edge in seaports, one sees the expanded and dried skins of these strangers, which have been brought in and sold for a very small sum by wandering sailors. They are found in all the warm and tropical seas and a few species live in fresh water instead of salt. The skin is naked or covered with movable spines.

The Rhinoceros Bird

Not long ago the writer attended a lecture on Africa illustrated with remarkable moving pictures, among the most interesting of which were those showing rhinoceri. A striking feature observed in pictures of these clumsy hulking beasts was the fact that they were used for roosting purposes by a certain species of bird. The birds and the rhinoceros form a sort of mutual benefit society. The thick hide of the latter harbors quantities of ticks and the birds find these agreeable titbits. Moreover, the quick-witted and far-sighted creature of the air is said to warn its duller and clumsier friend of the approach of enemies. These birds are also called ox-peckers and they usually have pleasing voices with a variety of notes; some of them can even be taught to mimic sounds or speech like the starlings, to which they are related.

The Honey Eaters

An interesting group of small birds confined to Australia and the neighboring regions has been given the name of the Honey Eaters from their diet. They are particularly remarkable for the tongue, which is not only extensible but also multiple, usually fourfold. This structure is obviously of advantage in feeding. They are fond of sucking honey from the flowers of the eucalyptus and the acacia, but they are by no means strictly vegetarian. Some authorities believe, indeed, that the chief reason for their seeking honey-bearing flowers is the fact that these are frequented by insects. They also eat figs and bananas as well as other fruit and leaf buds. They are pretty little creatures as a rule, some of them gay with red and black plumage, such as the species called the Soldier Bird, while another bearing the curious name of the

Cobbler's Awl has plumage variegated with tones of black and white set off with brown and buff.

The voice is various in different species, being sometimes a mere chirrup, while others have a clear flute-like tone and still others have a raucous cry, a good example of the last-mentioned being the one called the O-o from its call. The well-known ornithologist, Prof. A. H. Evans, of Cambridge University, England, says amusingly of another species, the Parson Bird, that it "utters a wild song, laughs, coughs, sneezes, and mimics generally," which description makes its name sound rather invidious. However, the curious white feathers on its breast probably account for the name. Still another is called the Stitch-Bird from the queer little click it utters as monotonous as the repetition of stitch, stitch, stitch, in Hood's "Song of the Shirt." The most striking of all with respect to voice is the New Zealand bell-bird. These bell-birds commonly sing in chorus and their rich silvery notes remind one of the chimes of the Swiss bell-ringers. The plumage of at least two of the species, the Stitch-Bird and the O-o, is employed by the natives to make the rich feather capes to which they are so partial.

Explosive Seed Pods

Among the most interesting mechanical features, so to speak, found in plant life, are the provisions by which certain flowers launch their seeds into the world. For example, the ordinary fungus known as the puffball or sometimes as the devil's snuff-box, has been called a vegetable bomb, because of the violence with which it discharges its spores when these are ripe. The reason for this is that while the outer skin is dry the spores within contain a certain amount of humidity. If a ray of sunlight falls on the puffball at this time the moisture in the spores causes them to expand and, since they have "no place to go but out," they split the skin which encloses them, and are discharged in a

cloud of dust, which rises for a considerable distance in the air. When the pods of peas and beans become thoroughly dry they twist in such a manner as to split along the edge and discharge their burden. Another example is the common touch-me-not, whose seed pod when mature goes off like a trigger at the slightest touch, firing the seeds in every direction. This is because the narrow sections of which the touch-me-not part is composed are closely united at the tip only and are in such a state of tension that a slight stimulus will cause them to separate and curl up like the back of an angry cat. Botanists give the name of stimulus movements to a motion of any part of a plant which is directly induced by some external factor. In the case of the touch-me-not it is, as we have seen, friction. In the case of the puffball, it is the expansion of water. Other stimuli are heat gravity, and hygroscopic action, i.e., the tendency shown by certain substances to absorb water and undergo alteration as a result of this.

Vitamines and Sex

An experimenter named H. Simonnet has recently been making a study of the comparative requirements of nutrition in the two sexes during the period of growth. Male and female rats of the same litter were provided with similar rations, their respective gain in weight being closely watched. The results, according to a writer in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne), were quite striking:

By the end of the thirtieth day of the experiment (food lacking vitamins) the female exhibited a greatly retarded development, whereas the male continued to develop normally upon the same rations until the sixtieth day was reached. The second fact observed was that when a ration lacking in vitamins was supplied the females showed signs of injury to health much earlier than the males. The former exhibited the characteristic affection of the eyes produced by such a diet on the one hundredth day, while the males were not so affected until the one hundred and fiftieth day. Moreover, the females died a little sooner than the males when restricted to a diet lacking in vitamins.



THE NEW BOOKS

The History of Our Own Times

These Eventful Years: the Twentieth Century in the Making, as Told by Many of Its Makers. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc. Vol. I: 692 pp. Ill. Vol. II: 695 pp. Ill.

In these two stocky volumes are eighty-four chapters, or articles, dealing with as many phases or episodes of "The Twentieth Century in the Making." The intention of the editors was to obtain from men who had had a personal part in the events narrated, or from those who had made a special study of the developments in question, succinct narratives which would necessarily express the individual views of the writers. The result is that the work as a whole is not so much a reference book as it is a series of brilliant pictures, some of which clash more or less with one another, for there seems to have been no attempt to obtain a more or less artificial uniformity of expression. It is frankly admitted in the preface that the books were not intended primarily for consultation or reference, but for connected reading. It is explained that these two volumes have no connection whatever with the "Encyclopædia Britannica," but have been prepared independently. Of course the most important sections of the work relate themselves directly or indirectly to the World War. Eleven chapters are devoted to the causes, the diplomacy and the military activities of the war. Following these are eight chapters which deal with some of the results, covering such subjects as the League of Nations, Allied debts, taxation, social unrest, wages and prices. Then follow accounts of developments in science, invention, journalism, psychoanalysis, big business, progress of women, prohibition, education, literature and the arts. A chapter by Mr. H. G. Wells deals with the future and what it has in store for us. Among the Americans who have contributed to this notable work are Rear-Admiral Sims, U. S. N.; Bernard M. Baruch; Frank H. Simonds, of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS; Brand Whitlock; Dr. J. Laurence Laughlin; Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman; Prof. John H. Latané; President James R. Angell; Dr. James Brown Scott, and Colonel Edward M. House.

Europe Since 1789. By Edward Raymond Turner. Doubleday, Page & Company. 846 pp. With maps.

This book is a revision and enlargement of the author's "Europe: 1789-1920," which has met with much favor among students since its publication four years ago. The author has brought the narrative down to the beginning of 1924, thus covering important developments in the field of international relations, and has also treated more extensively several topics included in the original work.

Europe Since 1815. By Charles Downer Hazen. Henry Holt and Company. Vol. I: 608 pp. With maps. Vol. II: 1202 pp. With maps.

The original edition of Professor Hazen's work appeared in 1910. So great were the changes in Europe, wrought by the Great War, that a revision of the entire book was demanded. The greater part of the second volume is occupied with an account of the World War, the peace and the resulting developments in the various countries of Europe.

The Jews in the Making of America. By George Cohen. Boston: The Stratford Company. 274 pp.

This informing account of Jewish achievement in the United States appears in the "Racial Contribution Series," published by the Knights of Columbus through their Historical Commission. A statistical supplement gives the number, the rate of growth and the distribution of Jews in America.

The History of the United States Army. By William Addleman Ganoe. D. Appleton and Company. 609 pp. Ill.

This is said to be the first complete chronological record of the Army as such from the Revolution to the present day. It is a story of the soldier's service in peace as well as in war. One striking feature of the narrative is the emphasis which is laid on the efforts of army leaders—frequently successful—to save the country from war. The constructive value of the army in such an enterprise as the building of the first Pacific railroad is clearly brought out. Special recognition is accorded to the men who have had a special part in the training of the army throughout our national history—Washington, Steuben, Thayer, Scott, Upton and Wagner.

Military Intelligence: a New Weapon in War. By Walter C. Sweeney. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 259 pp.

A subject frequently misunderstood in civil life is here presented and discussed by an American military man of wide experience. Colonel Sweeney served with distinction in the World War and is remembered by thousands of doughboys as the officer who first supervised the publication of the *Stars and Stripes*.

Legislative Assemblies. By Robert Luce. Houghton Mifflin Company. 691 pp.

Through his service as a member of the Massachusetts General Court and of the national Congress, Mr. Luce has been enabled to acquire a good work-

ing knowledge of the makeup, characteristics and manners of American legislative assemblies. Embodying this knowledge, his book becomes far more than a mere digest of principles and rules. The

author's use of incident and anecdote gives it the quality of readability, while the student of political science may get from it much that is worth knowing on the human side of lawmaking.

Biography and Autobiography

Altgeld of Illinois: a record of His Life and Work. By Waldo R. Browne. B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 342 pp.

Governor Altgeld's career in Illinois was as dramatic as that of any leader in American public life. It was his fate to be grievously misunderstood and misrepresented, but a calm analysis of his expressed views on political and economic questions will show that he was far from advocating what is now known as radicalism in our politics. Many of the reforms for which he agitated are now embodied in the law of the land. This appreciative sketch of Governor Altgeld was written by a son of the late Francis Fisher Browne, of Chicago.

Memories. By the Right Honorable Viscount Long of Wraxall, F.R.S. (Walter Long.) E. P. Dutton & Company. 380 pp. Ill.

These are the memories of an English country gentleman who served forty years in Parliament, including thirty-four years in Cabinet positions.

Viscount Long was President of the Local Government Board, Chief Secretary for Ireland, Colonial Secretary, and First Lord of the Admiralty. In these places of power and responsibility in the British political system he never for a moment lost interest or zest in hunting and cricket, and more than once in his memoirs he intimates unaffected surprise that anyone should fail to take these things seriously. His book is valuable as a record because of his strict fidelity to historical facts.

On Pacific Frontiers. By Captain Carl Rydell. Edited by Elmer Green. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. 267 pp. Ill.

In the excellent "Pioneer Life Series" this book, entitled "On Pacific Frontiers," is a story of life at sea and in outlying possessions of the United States. The narrator, Captain Carl Rydell, has had many sea adventures, especially in the North Pacific. In his Alaskan contacts he was indeed a pioneer. This book has been adapted by Elmer Green from the autobiographical writings of the Captain.

Medicine and Hygiene

An Introduction to the Study of the Mind. By William A. White. (Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 38.) Washington, D. C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co. 116 pp.

Dr. White is the superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital at Washington, D. C. He has prepared this monograph for the use of medical students, social workers, and all those interested in mental hygiene. He states that his purpose is not so much to present a body of facts as to create a "state of mind." His book is intended to draw attention to new methods in the study of mental processes and to suggest new points of view. He thinks that the time has come when it is important for the present generation to spend as much energy in learning about itself as it has been expending in the past in learning about its environment.

Cancer: How it is Caused; How it can be Prevented. By J. Ellis Barker. With an Introduction by Sir W. Arbuthnot Lane. E. P. Dutton & Company. 478 pp.

This book, written by an English layman, has the strongest endorsement of an eminent surgeon, Sir W. Arbuthnot Lane. Mr. Barker is a writer trained in the handling of statistics. It was not difficult for him to bring together medical statistics and reports, derived from many countries, the

substance of which goes to show that the theories of the origin of cancer heretofore held are not borne out by the facts. Not content with this negative service, however, Mr. Barker makes a positive contribution to the world's fight against cancer. Maintaining that cancer is due to chronic poisoning and to vitamin starvation, Mr. Barker devotes a great part of his book to the discussion of diet. There can be no doubt that there is essential truth and common sense in most of what he says concerning modern food abuses. Whether the adoption of his rules would "conquer cancer" or not, it would certainly tend to do away with many maladies only less serious than cancer itself.

Tuberculosis—Nature, Treatment, and Prevention. By Linsly R. Williams. (The National Health Series, Edited by the National Health Council.) Funk & Wagnalls Company. 78 pp.

This is one of twenty little books comprising the excellent "National Health Series." Each of these brief manuals is the work of a recognized authority on the subject treated, and has been made available to the public at the low price of thirty cents a copy. Dr. Williams, the author of this discussion of the nature, treatment, and prevention of tuberculosis, is the author of a very widely known, large volume on the same subject. He is the managing director of the National Tuberculosis Association and served in organizing the work of the Rockefeller Tuberculosis Commission in France.

Books of Timely Interest

New England Highways and Byways: From a Motor Car. By Thomas D. Murphy. Boston: L. C. Page & Company. 327 pp. Ill.

As most Americans in these days see New England from motor cars, if they see it at all, it is natural that a book should be written and published to meet the demands of this large section of the traveling public. Mr. Murphy's text has been prepared with an adequate sense of the real beauties of rural New England and with a keen appreciation of the historical interest associated with the towns and localities described. The illustrations—half in color—are in keeping with the general attractiveness of the subject.

Creole Sketches. By Lafcadio Hearn. Edited by Charles Woodward Hutson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 200 pp. With illustrations by the Author.

To a world familiar with the published writings of Lafcadio Hearn, his work on the New Orleans *Item* in 1877-81 remained for the most part an

obscure chapter in his career. It appears that as assistant editor of the *Item* Hearn wrote a large number of editorials, translations, book reviews, dramatic criticisms and miscellaneous sketches. Mr. Hutson has brought together from this large output a selection of "Creole Sketches," which make most entertaining reading. A few sketches in black and white, from woodcuts done by Hearn for the *Item*, accompany the text.

Principles of Railway Transportation. By Eliot Jones. Macmillan. 607 pp.

The serious seeker for the truth about the railroad problem, wearied by the flood of controversial material that is continually pouring from the press, will find the essentials of the problem set forth in this book with clearness, accuracy and impartiality. He may also be guided to much collateral reading by the lists of references appended to several chapters. Dr. Jones is Professor of Economics in Stanford University, and his attitude towards the whole subject of railroad transportation is the scientific one.

Other Books Received

Æneas Tacticus Asclepiodotus Onasander. With an English Translation by Members of the Illinois Greek Club. 531 pp. Xenophon—*Memorabilia and Economicus.* With an English Translation by E. C. Marchant. 525 pp. Cicero: *The Speeches.* With an English Translation by N. H. Watts. 540 pp. Velleius Paterculus: *Compendium of Roman History.* With an English Translation by Frederick W. Shipley, of Washington University. Ovid. With an English Translation by Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Alumnæ Professor of Latin, Bryn Mawr College. 510 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Fall of the Dutch Republic. By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. With illustrations by the author. Houghton Mifflin Company. 433 pp.

Bavaria and the Reich—The Conflict Over the Law for the Protection of the Republic. By Johannes Mattern. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 125 pp.

An Introductory History of England—From Waterloo to 1880. By C. R. L. Fletcher. E. P. Dutton & Company. 496 pp. With maps.

The American Government. By Frederic J. Haskin. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 484 pp. Ill.

The Pan-German League—1890-1914. By Mildred S. Wertheimer. 256 pp. **Foreign Credit Facilities in the United Kingdom—A Sketch of Post-War Development and Present Status.** By Leland Rex Robinson. 229 pp. **Catholicism and the Second French Republic—1848-1852.** By Ross William Collins. 356 pp. **Ledru-Rollin and the Second French Republic.** By Alvin R. Calman. 452 pp. **English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law in Their Joint Influence.** By Thomas Pollock Oakley. 226 pp. (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law). Columbia University.

United States Catholic Chaplains in the World War. 359 pp. With portraits. Ordinate—Army and Navy Chaplains, New York. (Printed by the Chauncey Holt Company.)

Ancient Egypt from the Records. By M. E. Monckton Jones. E. P. Dutton & Company. 244 pp. Ill.

An Outlaw's Diary: The Commune. (A tale of the post-war Communist dictatorship in Hungary). By Cécile Tormay. Robert M. McBride & Company. Vol. II. 233 pp. Ill.

Brains in Business. By Frank A. Nagley. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 317 pp.

